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ZU TEXT UND AUSLEGUNG DES BUCHES HOSEA.

3. Kap. 5¹—6⁶. Falscher und rechter Jahwedienst.

KARL BUDDE

MARBURG.

Meiner Abhandlung „Der Abschnitt Hosea 1—3 und seine grundlegende religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung“, die ich 1895 in den „Theologischen Studien und Kritiken“ (S. 1—89) hatte erscheinen lassen, ließ ich 1926 in dem amerikanischen „*Journal of Biblical Literature*“ (vol. XLV, p. 280—297) unter dem obigen Titel als Beitrag 1. und 2. die Auslegung von Kap. 4¹⁻¹⁰ und V. 11-19 folgen. Meine Absicht, mit weiteren Abschnitten ebendort möglichst bald fortzufahren, wurde vor allem durch andre dringende Arbeiten bis heute vereitelt. Aber leugnen kann ich nicht, daß daneben auch die Scheu vor aller Arbeit an dem Buche dieses Propheten, der ich damals zu Eingang (p. 280) Ausdruck gab, einen Teil der Schuld an der langen Verzögerung trägt. Gerade Kap. 5 gegenüber empfand ich sie immer von neuem. Erst jetzt habe ich sie überwunden und kann ich mich für Kap. 5 derselben Hoffnung hingeben, die ich damals für das vierte zu äußern wagte: daß es mir gelingen werde, zu besserem Wortlaut und Verständnis vorzudringen. Das danke ich vor allem dem vorzüglichen Beitrag von A. ALT, der, obgleich schon 1919 erschienen,¹ erst vor kurzem zu meiner Kenntnis gelangt ist. Durch seine eigene Schärfe und Klarheit hat er mir zu größerer Klarheit verholfen, und zwar ebenso sehr in Widerspruch wie in Zustimmung. Soll ich neben ALT einen zweiten nennen, so ist es mein alter Gastfreund und Freund W. R. HARPER, dessen muster-gültiger Kommentar,² bei uns wenigstens, viel zu wenig zur Geltung kommt. So meldete ich denn diesen meinen Beitrag 3 bei dem *Journal of Biblical Literature*, das schon so viele meiner Arbeiten gebracht hat, vertrauensvoll an. Aber leider konnte mir diesmal die Aufnahme für absehbare Zeit nicht zugesagt werden, weil die Zeit-

¹ „Hosea 5⁸—6⁶. Ein Krieg und seine Folgen in prophetischer Beleuchtung“, *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschrift*, XXX, 1919, S. 537—568.

² „Amos and Hosea“, *The International Critical Commentary*, 1905.

schrift ihren Umfang für einige Zeit wesentlich beschränken muß. So schulde ich der Leitung des *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* den wärmsten Dank, daß sie mir den Raum für diesen meinen neuen Beitrag zu Hosea so freundlich zur Verfügung stellt. Es ist mir eine große Freude, auch einmal in Jerusalem Gastrecht genießen zu dürfen.

Wenn ich diesmal einen so viel größeren Umfang unter einer einzigen Nummer zusammenfasse, so soll das der Beantwortung der zweiten der drei Vorfragen, die ich 1926 für eine fruchtbare Auslegung solcher Prophetentexte aufstellte, der nach Umfang und Abschluß des einzelnen Abschnitts, durchaus nicht vorgreifen. Deren Beantwortung ist nur hier weit schwieriger und viel umstrittener als bei Kapitel 4, und erst Kap. 6⁶ scheint mir die endgültige Lösung für die inhaltliche Hauptfrage dieses großen Abschnitts, geradezu in der Gestalt eines Mottos, darzubieten. Das schließt aber nicht aus, daß tiefere Einschnitte sich auch vorher schon möchten nachweisen lassen, ja, daß der Zusammenhang sich auch einmal als brüchig und nicht ursprünglich erweisen könnte. Darüber kann nur die Einzeluntersuchung entscheiden.

a) 5¹⁻⁷. Die dritte meiner Vorfragen von damals, nach der Person des Redenden, beantwortet sich zunächst durch das 'Ich' in V. 2b und 3: es ist Jahwe. Eine Einführung seiner Person fehlt hier wie überall bei Hosea, bis auf die wenigen נאם יהוה (2¹⁵⁻¹⁸⁻²³; 11¹¹), von denen mindestens 2¹⁸ nicht auf ihn zurückgeht. Wo der Prophet selber das Wort nimmt, wird zu untersuchen sein. Als Gegenstand des Abschnitts endlich ergibt sich, was oben für den ganzen Umfang vorausgeschickt ist, der falsche und der rechte Jahwedienst, nur daß es hier bei Anklage und Strafandrohung sein Bewenden hat, während der rechte Jahwedienst nur als ausbleibend angedeutet wird (V. 4. 6). Daß die Anklage bei den Priestern einsetzt, gibt dem Stück seine Stelle neben 4¹⁻¹⁰; aber sofort greift sie weiter um sich und führt neue Gegenstände ein.

V. 1. 2. 1. Höret dies, ihr Priester, und merket auf (—),
Und ihr vom Königshofe, horchet:
Denn euch gilt das Gericht.

Denn zu einer Falle wurdet ihr (zu) Mišpa
Und zu einem gespannten Netz auf dem Tabor,
2. Und (zu der tiefen Grube von Šittim);
Ich aber bin abgetan für (euch) alle.

Der Anruf wie bei Amos in 3¹, 4¹, 5¹; nur mit bloßem neutriscchen **זאת** statt des **הרבר הזה**. Er ergeht an drei Stellen: Priester, Haus Israel und Königshof. Aber sicher ist **בית ישראל** mit OETTLI und MEINHOLD (*Der heilige Rest*, S. 74) als späterer Zusatz zu streichen.¹ Die Israeliten, die Masse des Volkes, können nicht angerufen sein nur „um zu hören, wie Jahwe mit ihren Autoritäten ins Gericht geht“ (MARTI); sind doch eben sie die Opfer des verurteilten Treibens, während nun das Gericht auch ihnen angesagt wäre. Und anderseits ist es nicht möglich, mit SELLIN (im Anschluß an MENES) **בית ישראל** auch als eine der angeklagten Autoritäten zu fassen, als die Volksversammlung, der die Legislative zustehe. Denn zunächst handelt es sich bei Falle, Netz und Grube nicht um Institutionen, bei denen die Legislative eingriffe, sondern um Schliche und Ränke, durch die Arglose betrogen werden. Sodann aber ist **בית ישראל** 1⁴⁻⁶; 12¹ ebenso wenig wie Am. 7¹⁰ und an allen Amosstellen die Volksversammlung, sondern das Volk als solches, die Bürgerschaft des Reiches, wie denn dasselbe von **בית יהודה** in V. 12. 14 – vgl. dazu unten – gilt. Die Stelle vollends, die das **בית ישראל** einnimmt, die Schuldigen, Priester und Hof, aus einander reißend, bestätigt den Einschub. Auch ist er nicht schwer zu erklären. Sind die beiden Worte gestrichen, so ergibt sich bis **והקשיבו** ein Versglied von richtiger Länge. Aber nur an dieser einzigen Stelle findet sich **הקשיב** in derselben Zeile mit **שמע** als dessen Steigerung und Zuspitzung, während es überall sonst als dessen Synonym im parallelen Versglied verwendet wird. So unbedingt zulässig und gut nun unser Ausnahmsgebrauch ist, so leicht begreift es sich doch, daß man später einmal nach der sonstigen allgemeinen Regel hier eine Lücke fand und auch dem **הקשיבו** noch seinen besonderen Vokativ gab. Ernstlich habe ich in Erwägung gezogen, ob der Interpolator das **בית ישראל** in nächster Nähe könnte gefunden haben und nur durch eine leichte Verschiebung an seine jetzige Stelle gebracht hätte, indem der Schluß des Halbverses gelautet hätte **בית ישראל משפט** oder besser **המשפט קב' י'**: „denn ihr habt die Entscheidung für, über das Haus Israel.“ So faßt SELLIN unter Hinweis auf Mi. 3¹ das **המשפט** allein: „Denn euch obliegt das Recht.“ Aber mit richtigem Empfinden, wenn auch ohne ausdrückliche Streichung noch Rechtfertigung, läßt er dann dahinter

¹ PEISER streicht es ebenfalls, aber daneben auch noch **ובית המלך**, sodaß **האזינו** den zweiten Stichos beginnt. Das geht durchaus nicht an.

in der Übersetzung das begründende כִּי aus. Es führt eben die Anklage ein, und die kann nur die Gerichtsansage begründen, nicht die Autoritätsstellung der Angerufenen. — Jetzt fragt PROCKSCH¹ in den textkritischen Fußnoten, ob für בֵּית zu lesen sein möchte נְבִיאִי, also נְבִיאִי וְשָׂרָאֵה נְבִיאִי. Sicher stützt sich diese Vermutung auf 4⁵, wo der נְבִיא im Texte nachträglich neben dem Priester eingedrungen ist. Aber vollends hier als Klasse, „die Propheten Israels“, welches Determinativ bei den Priestern fehlt? Das ist doch ganz unmöglich, auch nicht wohl abzusehen, wie die Propheten bei diesem Geschäft die Dritten im Bunde hätten sein können. Sehr ungeschickt ist die Versabteilung: der erste Vers müßte mit הַמִּשְׁפָּט schließen, der zweite bis לְכָדֶם durchlaufen; selbst die Raumverteilung wäre dann besser. Die starke Verderbnis des Wortlauts, die in dem jetzigen 2a den Ortsnamen ganz verschwinden ließ, wird den Anlaß zu der falschen Abteilung gegeben haben. — Schwer begreiflich ist, wie GUTHE 1a (bis הַמִּשְׁפָּט) für den Zusatz eines Redaktors halten kann, aus 6⁹ (Priester), 5¹⁰ (Obrigkeit), 5¹ff. (Israeliten) herausgeklaut. Der ganze Wortlaut fügt sich sowohl dem Satzgefüge wie dem Gedankengang unlöslich ein.

Es folgen in 1b und 2a die Anklagen, drei an der Zahl, was das verwerfliche Handeln angeht; als sträfliches Unterlassen zusammengefaßt am Schluß (2b) in einem einzigen Satz. Für die richtige Erklärung wird am besten dabei einzusetzen sein. Falsch überliefert ist sicher das לְכָדֶם, da nach 1a und הֵייתָם in 1b nur die zweite Person, als Anrede, nicht die dritte, am Platze ist. Leicht ist nach dem ἑμῶν der LXX ᾗ; aber das Nebeneinander der beiden Lesarten erklärt sich noch besser aus ursprünglichem לְכָדֶם „für euch alle“, was zugleich eine erwünschte Steigerung der Aussage ergibt. So MARTI, EHRLICH. — מוֹפֵר ist weder das landläufige Abstractum „Züchtigung“, noch מוֹפֵר zu sprechen (UMBREIT, SELLIN¹), noch mit LXX usw. מִיָּפֶר „Zuchtmeister“ dafür zu lesen, und gar daneben noch וְאֵין für וְאֵין „und es gibt [oder „gab“] keinen Zuchtmeister“ (CHEYNE, SELLIN²), was doch wahrlich Jahwe nicht aussagen kann, in schönem Einverständnis mit dem Toren von Ps. 14¹. Auf dem richtigen Wege dem Sinne nach war HALÉVY mit מוֹפֵר „entfremdet“

¹ PROCKSCH's Textausgabe der XII bei KITTEL³ erreichte mich, als meine Bearbeitung von V. 1—7 bereits abgeschlossen vorlag. Ich habe seine Entscheidungen und Vorschläge nachgetragen, zu Änderungen keinen Anlaß gefunden.

(Ps. 69⁹); aber dafür bedarf es keiner Änderung. Man mag sich wundern, daß erst EHRICH die so einfache Erklärung des מוֹסֵר als partic. Hophal (Jes. 17¹) gefunden hat, „und ich bin für sie alle abgesetzt, abgetan, erledigt“. Sie bedarf gar nicht erst der Begründung (EHRICH) durch Richt. 9²⁹; I. Kön. 15¹³, vor allem durch das הָסִיר der Götzen, Gen. 35²; Jos. 24¹⁴; I. Sam. 7⁴ usw., sondern versteht sich von selbst, gibt allein den rechten Sinn und wirft Licht auf den ganzen Zusammenhang. Der stärkste Ausdruck ist hier, in der Sprache des Unmuts, der beste, selbstverständlich Übertreibung, sodaß mit V. 6 dagegen nicht aufzukommen ist. Vollkommen sicher wird durch diesen Abschluß, daß die Anklage auf Götzendienst unter Abfall von Jahwe geht, ausgesprochenenmaßen nur darauf. Das braucht ja bei Hosea kaum erst gesagt zu werden, es entspricht Kap. 1, 2, 3 (V. 1); 4¹¹ ff. Mit den drei Ortsnamen — daß im Anfang von V. 2 nur UMBREIT's וְשֵׁתַּח הַשְּׁטִימִים gelesen werden darf, sollte heute nicht mehr bezweifelt werden¹ — sind zweifellos aus der Masse herausgehobene Stätten notorischen, besonders zugkräftigen Götzendienstes aufgeführt. Diese Erkenntnis nötigt zunächst כְּמִצְפָּה „zu Mišpa“ zu lesen; das falsche, schon von LXX vorausgesetzte מִ ver- steht Mišpa als Opfer der Falle, während es selbst vielmehr als Falle die Opfer anlockt und verschlingt. An dem על תָּבוֹר dagegen war nicht wohl zu rütteln, und es bürgt für ursprüngliches בְּמִצְפָּה. — Falsch ist auch das הַעֲמִיקוּ an der dritten Stelle, schon als 3. Person innerhalb der Anrede. Aber auch MARTI's הַעֲמִיקוּ ist nicht richtig, weil kein neues Verbum, geschweige im Imperfektum, sondern ein drittes nominales Prädikat zu הֵייתָ gefordert werden muß. Das meinte WELLHAUSEN mit הַעֲמִיקָה zu gewinnen; aber das ergibt nicht „eine tiefe Fallgrube zu Šittim“ — so seine Übersetzung — sondern „und die Fallgrube von Šittim ist tief.“ Aber leicht ist das einzig richtige הַעֲמִיקָה „und die tiefe Grube von Šittim“, womit auf ihre Tiefe als eine bekannte Tatsache hingewiesen wird. Von selbst erklärt sich damit auch der überlieferte Text als Korrektur der falschen Aussprache הַעֲמִיקָה. — Und nun die drei Stätten des Götzendienstes. Unter Mišpa versteht man richtig ziemlich allgemein das gileaditische² von Richt. 10f. (11¹⁰ מִצְפָּה גִלְעָד). Ein Heiligtum wird dort durch Richt. 11¹¹ bezeugt. Nur bei HARPER finde ich den Hin-

¹ Andere Versuche immer noch bei OETTLI, PEISER, PRÄTORIUS, SELLIN².

² SELLIN das benjaminitische.

weis auf und die Gleichsetzung mit dem Mišpa von Gen. 31⁴⁵⁻⁵⁴, wo in V. 49 הַמִּצְפָּה (mit Artikel auch Richt. 10¹⁷; 11^{11.34})¹ zweifellos als der eigentliche Ortsname eingeführt wird, leider in stark überarbeitetem Text. Vor allem aber gehört der Inhalt jener Erzählung durchaus hierher. Denn sie berichtet von einem Übereinkommen zwischen Laban und Jakob, d. i. zwischen Aram und Israel, das in einer Kultstätte — vgl. das Opfer V. 54 — auf der Grenzmark seine Bekräftigung und sein Wahrzeichen erhält. Natürlich wird die religiöse Seite dieses Übereinkommens von den pentateuchischen Erzählern beschönigt, indem auch Laban zum Jahwediener gemacht wird (V. 49); in Wirklichkeit handelt es sich hier zweifellos um einen internationalen Dienst, der an dem nationalen Gott Israels vorbeiging. Aber ob man die Gleichsetzung unseres Mišpa mit der Kultstätte von Gen. 31⁴⁵ ff. billigt oder nicht, darauf kommt für die Sache wenig an. Lehnt man sie ab, so gewinnen wir nur zu den drei Kultstätten, gegen die Hosea angeht, in Gen. 31 noch eine vierte, von der dasselbe gilt. Daß der Prophet nur eine Auswahl trifft, versteht sich ja von selbst.

Fest steht ein internationaler Dienst für den zweiten Ort, den Tabor, die wundervolle Bergpyramide im Nordostwinkel der Ebene Jizre'el. Nirgends sonst scheint zwar im A. T. ein Heiligtum auf ihr bezeugt zu sein, obgleich dort mit Sicherheit eines gefordert werden muß. Aber daß Deut. 33¹⁹ הָרַר zu הָרַר תָּבוֹר ergänzt oder תָּבוֹר dafür gelesen werden muß, habe ich längst vermutet („Der Segen Mose's“, 1922, S. 39. 49). Dort teilen sich zwei Stämme, Sebulon und Isaschar, in den Berg, und עַמִּים strömen auf ihm zu üppigen Opferfesten zusammen. Daß der Tabor der Sitz einer weithin verehrten, als Ζεὺς Ἰταβύγιος (oder Ἀταβύγιος) nach Rhodos und Sizilien verpflanzten internationalen Gottheit, eines kanaanäischen Ba'al, war, dessen Dienst in vorisraelitische Zeit zurückreichen muß, hat uns O. EISSFELDT in seinem Leidener Vortrag von 1931² unwiderleglich bewiesen; auch daß dieser Dienst noch lange nach Hosea's Zeit im Schwange ging, geht aus den Zeugnissen klar hervor.

¹ Danach ist auch hier notwendig der Artikel zu sprechen, also הַמִּצְפָּה, verbessert בְּמִצְפָּה.

² Eingehender Auszug in „Theologische Blätter“, Okt. 1931, Sp. 280 f.; das Manuskript der noch nicht gedruckten, dem Vortrag gegenüber vermehrten Arbeit, habe ich durch die Güte des Verfassers einsehen dürfen.

Sicher führt eben darüber Hosea hier bittere Klage. Daß der Name Tabor jetzt in Deut. 33¹⁹ fehlt, kann recht wohl auf absichtlicher Tilgung aus bösem Gewissen beruhen.

Ähnliche Bedenken mögen selbst noch bei den Punktatoren zu der Vertuschung des dritten Ortes, des bösen Haššittim, mitgewirkt haben. Die schwere Versündigung durch den Dienst des Ba'al Pe'ôr an diesem Orte ist von der Überlieferung in Num. 25¹⁻⁵ festgehalten; ohne den Ort erinnern auch Deut. 4³ und Jos. 22¹⁷ daran, ebenso aber auch Hosea selbst (9¹⁰).¹ Schon daraus geht hervor, daß dieser Dienst nicht bloß der mosaischen Vorzeit angehörte, sondern dauernd eine Gefahr blieb, und eine besonders große wegen der üppigen Sinnlichkeit, die sich hier nach Num. 25^{1ff.} besonders breit machte. Darum tut sich hier in Šittim vollends die Fallgrube auf, und die notorisch tiefe. Die Steigerung ist durchaus beabsichtigt.

Dieses dreifache Handwerkszeug des Jägers aber — daß der Bogen fehlt, der Jäger also gar nicht selbst Hand anzulegen braucht, hat seinen guten Sinn — sind geworden, d. h. dazu haben sich hergegeben und sind es nun recht eigentlich, die Angeredeten und Angeklagten, die Priester und die vom Königshofe. Wir würden sagen: sie sind die Seele jener Kulte. Diese Anklage ist durchaus ernst zu nehmen: Priesterschaft und Hof bilden dafür eine Interessengemeinschaft, sie betreiben ein Kompagniegeschäft. Sicher vollzog sich an diesen Kultstätten ein großer Umsatz, „es kam viel Geld ins Land“ würden wir sagen. Der Gewinn fiel vor allem den Priestern zu; schon 4⁸ lasen wir, daß die Priester sich von des Volkes Sünde mästen. Aber daß der Hof sich einen erheblichen Anteil an dem Gewinne sicherte, auf allerlei Weise hohe Abgaben erhob, daß er daher den Besuch jener Kultstätten gern sah und darin mit gutem Beispiel voranging, versteht sich von selbst, doppelt leicht angesichts des schnellen Wechsels der Dynastien gegen das Ende des Nordreichs, weil er die Finanznot zu einem chronischen, fressenden Schaden machen mußte. So entfaltet sich uns in diesen beiden Versen ein höchst anschauliches Bild aus den religiösen und kulturellen Verhältnissen Nordisraels zu dieser Zeit, eine in hohem Grade willkommene Bereicherung unserer Einsicht. Vieles Ähnliche

¹ Ob hier nicht die Nennung des Ortes hinter בשׂתים ausgefallen ist, darf man fragen.

wird uns spurlos verloren gegangen sein. Zugleich fallen damit willkommene Streiflichter auf den internationalen Verkehr in Friedenszeiten.

- V. 3 und 4. 3. Ich kenne Ephraim,
Und Israel ist nicht verborgen vor mir:
Denn nun treibst du, Ephraim, Hurerei,
Verunreinigt sich Israel.
4. Ihr Tun läßt (ihnen) nicht zu,
Zu ihrem Gott zurückzukehren;
Denn der Geist der Hurerei erfüllt sie,
Und (mich) kennen sie nicht.

V. 3. **אָפְרַיִם** statt **עֵתָה** zu lesen (WELLHAUSEN usw., auch OETTLI, HARPER und jetzt PROCKSCH), ist gar kein Anlaß. **עֵתָה** führt häufig den Tatbestand ein: „wie die Dinge liegen, da es nun so ist, unter diesen Umständen“ (GES.-BUHL „c“), hier unter Beziehung auf V. 1, 2. Auch das **כִּי** dient dieser Bezugnahme, ob man es nun adversativ gegenüber dem negativen Satz oder rein begründend faßt. — **הוֹנִיתָ** kausativ zu verstehen, ist ausgeschlossen; ob das Hiphil nur so gebraucht würde, wurde schon zu 4¹⁰ bezweifelt. Hier ist **וְנִתְּ** unter Annahme von Dittographie so leicht, daß man sich am besten mit OETTLI und MARTI (PROCKSCH fragend) dazu entschließt. LXX, Syr., Vulg. lesen die 3. Pers. **הוֹנָה** oder **זִנָּה**, und auch das ist mehrfach gebilligt worden, weil sie vorher und nachher bei **יִשְׂרָאֵל** steht. Indessen ist solch lebhafter Wechsel durchaus nicht verdächtig, erleichtert vielmehr den sonst reichlich synonymen Parallelismus. Deshalb ist eher zu fragen, ob nicht in a das **ך** eines **יִנְתְּךָ** verloren gegangen, oder die Form absichtlich der folgenden 3. Pers. angeglichen ist, wie bei den Verss. auch in b.

Zum ersten Mal begegnen uns hier, wichtig und in manchem Sinne maßgebend für das Folgende, „Ephraim“ und „Israel“ als völlig gleichwertige Synonyme; nur einen intimeren, persönlicheren Zug mag man für „Ephraim“ in Anspruch nehmen, der denn auch in dem „Du“ zu Tage tritt. Ohne Synonym ist uns Ephraim in diesem Sinne schon 4¹⁷ begegnet, während bis dahin „Israel“ (4¹⁵), oder „die Kinder Israel“ (3^{1.4}; 4¹) oder „das Haus Israel“ (1^{4.6}), ebenfalls allein, gebraucht war. Mit Entschiedenheit muß hier ALT's Anspruch zurückgewiesen werden, daß der Gebrauch von „Ephraim“ für das Nordreich als solches erst durch den Ausgang des syrisch-

ephraimtiischen Krieges, die Abtrennung weiter Gebiete vom Nordreiche durch Tiglat-Pileser IV., herbeigeführt sei, sodaß der Name nur für den Rumpfstaat gelte, „darum von Hosea hier und späterhin“ verwendet werde, und dies „ein Hosea eigentümlicher Wortgebrauch“ sei (S. 554). Er beruft sich dafür, ebenso wie vor ihm schon MEINHOLD (*Heil. Rest*, S. 49), auf H. WINCKLER (*Keilinschr. u. A. T.*³ S. 264). Es ist zunächst gar nicht abzusehen, wie man damit Jes. 7^{2. 5. 9. 17}; 9⁸; 17³; 28³ in Einklang bringen will, die alle vor dem Austrag des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges anzusetzen sind. Sodann ist es ganz unglaublich und widerspricht aller Erfahrung in ähnlichen Fällen, daß nach der gewaltsamen Verkleinerung eines Staates dessen Bewohner sich sofort demütig den neuen Verhältnissen mit ihrer Selbstbezeichnung sollten angepaßt haben. Dem geraden Gegenteil begegnet man überall: daß nach Vergrößerungen beliebigen Umfangs der Name des kleinen Kerngebietes dem Ganzen verbleibt, man vergleiche „Bayern, Württemberg, Baden“ usw. Viel wahrscheinlicher ist, daß diese Namengebung auf die Reichsspaltung zurückgreift (vgl. Jes. 7¹⁷), weil von da an der Name Israel etwas Doppeldeutiges erhielt. Gute Erklärung für die Wahl gerade Ephraims bietet KAUTZSCH bei GUTHE „*Kurzes Bibel-Wörterbuch*“ unter „Ephraim“. So ist jene Annahme zwar eine nützliche Hilfhypothese für das, was ALT zu V. 8 ff. nachweisen will; aber zulässig ist sie nicht.

„Der letzte Satz von V. 3 ist eine matte, abschwächende und völlig überflüssige Explikation, vielleicht aus 6¹⁰“: so leider WELLHAUSEN, und ihm folgen NOWACK und MARTI.¹ Man lasse doch jedem Redner seine eigene Sprache, und was wäre mehr und echter hoseanisch als das זנה? Auch Wiederholung versteht sich dabei von selbst, und ohne b fehlt ja die Anklage. Sie wird durch 4 b nicht ersetzt, sondern gesteigert. Die Hauptsache, daß durch das Bild der Hurerei die religiöse Natur der Versündigung ausdrücklich festgelegt wird, geht bei der Streichung ganz verloren.

V. 4. Für יתנו hat OETTLI die von WELLHAUSEN vergeblich gesuchte Herstellung mit יתנו mit Sicherheit gefunden, und ziemlich allgemein hat man sich dem angeschlossen. In der Bedeutung „zu-

¹ Es handelt sich überall um 3 b im ganzen Umfang, nicht nur, wie OETTLI meint, um b β = נשמה ישראל. Aber auch das ist echt und schon für den Parallelismus nicht zu entbehren, wie OETTLI richtig urteilt.

geben, zulassen, erlauben“ findet sich נתן von Gen. 20⁶ an sehr häufig. Wenig einleuchtend, obgleich gut hoseanisch (7²; 9¹⁵; 12⁸), ist das מעל־יהם, man müßte es denn auf die in V. 1 f. angeführten Handlungen zurückbeziehen, was doch nicht leicht ist. Fast möchte man es als Entstellung aus einem בעַל־יהם „ihre Baʿale, ihre Götzen“ (2¹⁵) ansehen; der Satz erhielte damit ein besonders schlagendes, greifbares Gepräge in dem persönlichen Gegensatz gegen ihren eigenen Gott (אל־יהים). Das שוב ist genau das der Ehebrecherin in 2⁹ und kehrt wieder in 6¹. — b sagt, daß ihnen der Götzendienst zur anderen Natur geworden ist; das, was daraus folgt, daß sie Jahwe nicht kennen, stellt sich neben 2¹⁵ b, daß die Ehebrecherin Jahwe neben den Baʿalen vergessen hat. Aber das „Jahwe kennen“ ist überdies das eigentliche Merkmal hoseanischen Denkens: in 2²², 4^{1.6} bildet es das letzte Ziel der Arbeit Jahwes und seiner Beauftragten an den Seelen, 6³ läßt vollends das sündige Israel sich selber darauf besinnen, und in dem abschließenden Verse 6⁶ ist es wieder die letzte Forderung Jahwes. Wie alle dem gegenüber MARTI und NOWACK auch 4 b als überflüssige Explikation und Glosse aus 4¹² streichen können,¹ ist schwer verständlich. Sehr empfiehlt es sich, ואת־יהוה statt ואת־יהוה zu lesen — יהוה irrig ausgeschrieben für die vermeintliche Abkürzung י — da es schwer ist, Jahwes Rede schon mit V. 3 abzuschließen. Die 3. Person אל־יהים ist daneben in Jahwes Munde als qualifizierend durchaus möglich.

Die Verse 3 und 4 schließen sich vortrefflich als Fortsetzung an die beiden ersten an; insbesondere bedarf die kurze Feststellung in 2 b durchaus der Begründung und Verallgemeinerung durch das „Du machst mir nichts weis“ von 3 a und die Zurückführung auf den Geist, der Volk und Land beherrscht, in 3 b und 4. Auch das stark betonte אני zu Anfang verlangt den Anschluß nach rückwärts und eignet sich schlecht zum Beginn eines neuen Stücks. Dies gegen ALT's kurze Feststellung (a. a. O., S. 539, Fußn. 2), daß ihm 3 f. und 5–7 zwei neue Sprüche seien, zu deren Begründung ihm dort leider der Raum fehlte.

V. 5–7. 5a. ba. Und aussagen wird Israels Übermut ihm ins Gesicht,
 (—) Und Ephraim wird straucheln durch (seine)
 Schuld (—);

¹ GUTHE streicht vollends den ganzen Vers, zunächst m. c.

6. Mit ihren Schafen und Rindern werden sie
hingehn, Jahwe zu suchen,
Und ihn nicht finden — er hat «sich» vor
ihnen gerettet.
7. «Denn» Jahwe brachen sie die Treue,
«Seine Kinder» sind unechte Söhne:
Nun wird er sie «vertilgen», «die Pflüger»
samt ihrem Acker.

Sehr mitgenommen ist der Wortlaut dieser Verse, und da geändert werden muß, bleibt die Entscheidung recht unsicher. Immerhin glaube ich, daß mit weniger auszukommen ist, als man gemeinhin anzunehmen pflegt. Sachlich steht nicht viel auf dem Spiele, weil es sich auf jeden Fall um die Gerichtsansage handelt. Ganz unmerklich nimmt der Prophet die Rede auf: in V. 6 und 7 kann Jahwe nicht mehr der Redende sein. V. 6, aber übernimmt das Subjekt von V. 5 her. — Der Übermut Israels — „der Prunk“ (SELLIN) genügt doch nicht — tut sich gerade in dem wüsten Treiben an jenen heidnischen Heiligtümern kund, durch das man zeigt, wie man Jahwes nicht zu bedürfen glaubt. Aber וְנִקְּנָה zu sprechen (MARTI) empfiehlt sich doch nicht, weil es sich nicht um einen Zustand handelt, sondern um die für das göttliche Urteil entscheidende Zeugenaussage, und das Gericht doch noch erst bevorsteht. Dessen Einsetzen wird in dem Straucheln von 5 b verspürt, und nun wird man versuchen, dem Richter gegenüber Versäumtes nachzuholen, aber vergeblich. Deshalb trifft auch PROCKSCH's עָנָה, also Streichung des ו und Beziehung auf die Vergangenheit, schwerlich das Richtige; dagegen spricht schon das Imperfektum in dem parallelen Gliede. Aber vielleicht geht seine Änderung Hand in Hand mit Zustimmung zu ALT's Meinung, der mit V. 5 wieder einen neuen Spruch beginnen läßt. Das verträgt sich freilich nicht mit dem *perf. cons.*, sondern verlangt וְנִקְּנָה oder עָנָה. — Über die Streichung von וּיִשְׂרָאֵל als irrige Wiederholung ist man seit OETTLI ziemlich einverstanden; der synonyme Parallelismus von Ephraim und Israel (V. 3) kehrt wieder, diesmal in umgekehrter Reihenfolge.¹ Aber man muß dann auch יִפְשֹׁעַ בְּעֻזּוֹ lesen; die Plurale sind erst

¹ Daß WELLHAUSEN וּיִשְׂרָאֵל וּפְרָיִם streichen will, dürfte doch nur ein Schreibfehler sein, man möchte hinter „wahrscheinlich“ ergänzen „ist וּיִשְׂרָאֵל“. In der Übersetzung ist „und Ephraim“ beibehalten.

die Folge der falschen Wiederholung. So jetzt PROCKSCH mit „*l prob.*“

Für die Unedtheit des Satzes von Juda (so zuerst VALETON und OORT) führt MARTI einen einleuchtenden Kumulativbeweis, aus der „Verbindungslosigkeit“, dem „nackten Perfektum“ קָשַׁר und dem stets verdächtigen גַּם. Das Pluralsuffix נָקָם kommt noch dazu, da es die falsche Vermehrung וַיִּשְׂרֹאֵל schon voraussetzt. Der Satz hat handgreiflich die Gestalt einer Randglosse. Vor allem aber sind die judäischen Glossen durch 1⁷; 2¹⁻³; 3⁵ a β; 4¹⁵ a β so schlagend wie möglich nachgewiesen, und hier vollends beweisen allein die in V. 1, 2 aufgezählten drei Heiligtümer, daß es sich um eine Anklage bloß gegen Nordisrael handelt, der ein Gericht auch gegen Juda durchaus nicht so beiläufig angehängt werden kann. Daß WELHAUSEN sich Juda hier stillschweigend gefallen läßt, während er es an den soeben genannten Stellen richtig Hosea abspricht, mag man seiner Zeitlage zu gute halten; schwerer versteht sich die Billigung bei OORT und DUHM. SELLIN streicht den Satz als „nichtssagende judäische Glosse.“ Es ist von hoher Wichtigkeit, an unserem Kapitel hier bereits eine Hand festzustellen, die in dieser Richtung tätig ist.

V. 6. Der eifrige Jahwekult, der hier einsetzt, ist durchaus als Versuch der Begütigung Jahwes unter dem Eindruck, daß sein Gesicht nahe, zu verstehn; nach der Meinung seiner Spender verträgt er sich ganz wohl mit dem heidnischen, den sie nach V. 1 ff üben. Das Nichtfinden Jahwes vergleicht sich mit dem bei Amos (5⁵). Nicht nur das αὐτόν der LXX ist richtige, aber ganz überflüssige Epexege, sondern auch das begründende ὅτι: je kürzer der Ausdruck, desto kräftiger. Auch das Perfektum für das Ergebnis ihres Suchens ist besser als das Imperfektum.¹ Ob freilich das Pual הִתְחַיַּי, das OETTL freigibt, zulässig ist, muß doch stark bezweifelt werden; aber נִתְחַיַּי ist ja eine leichte Änderung. הִתְחַיַּי dafür einzusetzen (OORT, SELLIN) ist nur eine Abschwächung: nein, Jahwe hat sich vor ihnen gerettet, ist ihnen durchgegangen und lacht sie aus. Man lasse und gönne Hosea seine starken Gedankenwendungen und Ausdrücke, ebenso wie in 2¹⁶, 3¹ und anderwärts. MARTI'S Streichung der beiden letzten Worte bedeutet einen schweren und ganz unnötigen Verlust. — PROCKSCH will die beiden letzten Worte in jedem Falle

¹ DUHM יִמְצְאוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּיִתְחַיַּי, wesentlich m. c.

mit V. 7 verbinden — „v 6b cij c v7“ [lies so!] — wahrscheinlich vor allem m. c., fragt vorher aber, ob für sie zu lesen sein möchte חֲלֹמֵיהֶם „ihre Träumer“, nach Dt. 13^{2. 4. 6}: graphisch zweifellos recht leicht. Freilich übersieht er, daß dort überall, ebenso Jo. 3¹, und nach der richtigen Lesart der LXX auch Jer. 23²⁵, dem Tatwort חלם noch das Objekt חלום oder חֲלֹמוֹת folgt. Damit wären denn wieder, wie in V. 1, die Propheten zur Stelle gebracht. Das ist auch hier ganz unmöglich, weil die Aussagen vorher wie nachher dem gesamten Volke gelten.

V. 7 a. Wenn SELLIN umgekehrt die beiden ersten Worte von V. 7 m. c. zu V. 6 zieht, so zeigt das nur, daß seine metrischen Voraussetzungen und Forderungen irrig sind. Auch MARTI's פִּי הֵם ist zwar graphisch leicht, aber überflüssig; mit פִּי statt בִּיהוּה die Eigenrede Jahwes fortzuführen, schwerlich richtig. Brauchbar und leicht vor dem בִּיהוּה ist nur das פִּי der LXX, wenn auch nicht nötig; das כִּי vor בָּנִים könnte dahin zu versetzen sein, jedenfalls fehlt es besser. Möglich und leicht ist auch SELLIN's פִּי כִּי statt בִּיהוּה. In dem so eröffneten Satze ist יִדְּרִי sicher falsch, weil ein folgendes Geschlecht von Söhnen neben dem Volke, das die Geschlechter zusammenschließt und die ganze Schuld in sich verkörpert, nicht möglich ist. Statt aller mühseligen Versuche spreche ich einfach יִדְּרִי. Damit ist mir jetzt PROCKSCH im Druck zuvorgekommen. — Daß בָּנִים זָרִים „unechte Söhne“ heißen kann, ja muß, hätte MARTI nicht leugnen sollen: was können denn „Kinder, die Jahwe fremd gegenüber stehen“, anders sein? Wie selbstverständlich einem Hosea das Kindschaftsverhältnis Israels ist, zeigt 11¹; wie nahe ihm der Gedanke seines Bastardtums liegt, 2⁴ ff. und die Nebeneinanderstellung mit Hosea's Ehē in Kap. 1 und 3. Genau diese Kennzeichnung gehört hierher, weil sich die Israeliten durch ihren Abfall zu den Götzen (V. 1 f., 3 f.) als deren Kinder bekannt haben. Aber man soll das nicht abschwächen, wie das PROCKSCH tut durch sein פְּבָנִים für בָּנִים כִּי: nicht um einen Vergleich handelt es sich, sondern um die nackte, krasse Tatsache.

V. 7 b. Das עַתָּה führt den Schluß ein, ähnlich wie in V. 3. Sehr schwierig und umstritten ist der damit eingeführte letzte Satz. Die richtige Entscheidung hängt wesentlich an der Frage, ob von dem Tatwort יֹאכֶזֶם Jahwe, das logische Subjekt von a, Subjekt bleibt, oder ob hier für ihn, in seinem Dienste, irgend ein Etwas handelnd

eintritt. Das Erstere liegt an sich näher und ergäbe eine stärkere Aussage. Aber **אכר**, „fressen“, wird von Jahwe nur unter dem Bilde der **אש אכרה** ausgesagt, das hier fehlt. Deshalb hat man weit überwiegend seit den ältesten Zeiten für das zweifellos verlesene **חרש** ein anderes Agens des Gerichtes gesucht; HARPER bietet dafür eine reiche ältere Blumenlese. Sie hier einzeln zu verfolgen, hätte kaum einen Wert. Da alles sehr unsicher und subjektiv bleiben muß, darf ich mich darauf beschränken festzustellen, was ich für das Leichteste und Wahrscheinlichste halte. Sachlich kommt wenig darauf an, wie man sich entscheidet, da in jedem Falle hier die Gerichtsdrohung stehn muß. Das Beste für die letzten Worte scheint mir DUHM geboten zu haben mit **חרש את-הקקתו** „den Pflüger mitsamt seinem Acker“, was als sprichwörtliche Redensart, wie unser „mit Mann und Maus“, „mit Kind und Kegel“ zu verstehen wäre, natürlich als steigernde Apposition zu dem „sie“ des Suffixes. Ob man **חרש** lesen sollte, in Wiederholung des **ח** von **יאכרם**, mag man fragen, weil man dann **את-הקקיהם** beibehalten könnte. Es bleibt die Schwierigkeit des „Fressens“ mit dem Subjekt Jahwe. Dafür schlage ich die leichte Änderung **יכרם** „er wird vertilgen“ vor, was leicht als **יכרם** gesprochen und dann in **יאכרם** „verbessert“ werden konnte; vgl. für den Ausfall des **ח** eine große Beispielsammlung bei Ges.-K. § 68 h.

Bis hierher fanden wir ein einziges, in sich geschlossenes Stück, von vortrefflichem Zusammenhang, Fortschritt und Steigerung.¹ Ob die in einen einzigen Satz gefaßte Gerichtsansage weiterhin noch ins Einzelne verfolgt werden soll und wird, mag dahingestellt bleiben. Von wesentlicher Bedeutung aber ist die Frage, welcher Zeit man diese Rede möchte zuzuweisen haben, und, wie sich die Dinge für unser Kapitel zuspitzen, wird des Näheren zu fragen sein: vor oder nach dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg? Nur vor dem Kriege ist diese Anklage verständlich. Internationale Kulte gehn im Schwange, die nur in friedlichen und wohlhabenden Zeiten blühen können; die Anklage auf Übermut (V. 5) ist nach dem Zusammenbruch gegen Assyrien sicher nicht mehr möglich; die Strafe wird erst angedroht, während die *capitis deminutio* durch Tiglat-Pileser IV. doch ein furchtbares Gericht darstellt. Augenscheinlich

¹ Dem widerspricht ALR (a. a. O. S. 539, Fußn. 2): er hält 5¹⁻⁷ für keine Einheit, sondern sieht darin drei Sprüche: 5¹⁻², 5³⁻⁴, 5⁵⁻⁷. Da er keine Gründe anführt, muß ich es wesentlich bei der obigen Darlegung bewenden lassen.

ist Nordisrael noch bei guten Kräften und leidlichem Wohlstand: das verweist mit Sicherheit in die Zeit vor 735. Der *terminus ad quem* für unser Stück ist der Abschluß des Bündnisses mit Reşôn von Damaskus, mag dies nun nur gegen Juda oder, wie man so gern annimmt, gegen die assyrische Weltmacht gerichtet gewesen sein. Leicht aber mag es noch einige Zeit früher fallen. Damit ist ein neuer, abtuender Beweis beigebracht gegen die oben (S. 8f.) bestrittene Annahme ALT's, daß der Name Ephraim für Nordisrael erst nach der starken Beschneidung des Landes durch jenen Krieg in Gebrauch gekommen wäre; denn hier (V. 3 ff.) wird er vor dessen Ausbruch ganz unbefangen verwendet.

b. 5⁸⁻¹⁰.

8. Stoßt ins Horn zu Gib'a,
In die Trompete zu Rama,
Schlagt Lärm in Bet-el,
(Setzt) Benjamin (in Schrecken)!
9. Ephraim wird zur Öde werden am Tage der Entscheidung:
Über Israels Stämme tu' ich Zuverlässiges kund.
10. Die Großen Juda's treiben's wie Grenzverrücker:
Über sie werd' ich ausgießen wie Wasser meinen Grimm.

Hier hat ALT reine Bahn gemacht. Die Reihenfolge der Orte, Gib'a, Rama, Bet-el, das Fortschreiten von Benjamin zu Ephraim: das alles beweist mit Sicherheit, daß von dem Abschluß eines assyrischen Vorstoßes von Norden her, wie WELLHAUSEN ihn anheim gab, nicht die Rede sein kann. Und da ein ägyptischer Vorstoß, wie PROCKSCH daran denkt, in dieser Zeit nicht in Betracht kommt, auch in keinem Falle den schwierigen Weg über die Wasserscheide gewählt hätte, so kann nur Juda diesen Stoß führen, und Juda wird ja auch in V. 10 ausdrücklich genannt und angeklagt. Damit ist das alte Axiom, daß sich die Ereignisse bei Hosea nur bis zu dem assyrischen Tribut Menahēm's im Jahre 738 (5¹³) sollten verfolgen lassen, der syrisch-ephraimitische Krieg von 735/734 von ihm nicht erwähnt werde, also wohl jenseits seiner Wirksamkeit liege, endgültig erledigt. Hier nachzugeben fällt nicht schwer, handelt es sich doch nur um wenige Jahre. Aber scharf wird aufzumerken sein, wie tief sich Hosea auf diesen Hergang eingelassen, bzw., wieviel

darauf Bezügliches sich in dem Buche erhalten hat: die Gefahr zu weit gehender Postulate wird wohl zu beachten sein.

Für die Abtrennung des Verses 10 von 8f. — er macht aus ihm allein einen vollen, selbständigen Spruch — beruft sich ALT auf WELLHAUSEN, NOWACK¹ und MARTI. Aber bei ihnen liegen die Dinge ganz anders, da sie in 8f. nicht Juda handeln lassen; auch stellen sie V. 10 nicht ganz auf eigene Füße. Was ALT dazu veranlaßt, trotzdem der Vers mit jenen beiden das — von ALT stets stark betonte — Metrum gemein hat (das ganz eigentümliche 3 + 2, 2 + 2), ist nur die verschiedene Auslegung, die er jenen und diesem einen gibt, und nach deren Berechtigung wird zu fragen sein. Die Frage, wer rede, der Prophet oder Jahwe, entscheidet sich zugleich mit der nach dem Zusammenschluß. Trennt man V. 10 ab, so mag man in V. 8f. den Propheten reden lassen; läßt man ihn bei V. 8f., so beweist das אֲשׁוּךְ für Jahwe; daneben für הוֹדַעְתִּי in V. 9 anders zu entscheiden liegt kein Grund vor.

V. 8. Wenige Ortsnamen lassen sich so sicher festlegen wie die hier gebotenen drei: Gib'a = *tell el-fūl*, Rama = *er-rām*, Bethel = *bētin*, 5,8 und 18 Kilometer nördlich von Jerusalem (vgl. ALT), alle am Kamm des Berglandes gelegen, und alle gehören nach Jos. 18²¹ ff. zu Benjamin, das am Schluß des Verses den Bereich der ersten Gefahr zusammenfaßt. Das הַצִּפֹּרָה des Textes, wie שׁוֹפֵר abhängig von תִּקְעוּ, ist dem denominierten Impt. הַצִּפֹּרִי nach ἡγήσατε vorzuziehen. — Sicher bedeutet בֵּית אֵן hier wie überall Bethel; die Frage ist nur, ob bereits Hosea selbst diesen Ekelnamen geschrieben, oder ob erst eine spätere Hand ihn für den richtigen eingesetzt hat. Da er in 4¹⁵ einem Glossator gehört, ist auch hier für die spätere Hand zu entscheiden und בֵּית-אֵל herzustellen. Sicher ist ferner „zu Bethel“ gemeint; das kann aber auch durch den *acc. loci* ausgedrückt sein, der gerade von בֵּית sehr häufig ist (GK § 118 g), auch für בֵּית-אֵל, vgl. Am. 7¹³, Jos. 8¹⁷. Die Ergänzung eines durch Haplographie ausgefallenen כ ist also nicht nötig.

Das אַחֲרֶיךָ des Textes verteidigen noch OETTLI und EHRLICH in demselben Sinne wie HITZIG: „[man ist] hinter dir her, Benjamin!“ = „nimm dich in Acht, B.!“ Aber dazu fehlt doch das Subjekt, Wer oder Was des Verfolgenden. Sehr nahe liegt Verschreibung

¹ NOWACK⁸ läßt den Vers bei 8f. und beginnt erst mit V. 11 einen neuen Spruch.

durch Reminiscenz an Richt. 5¹⁴, und das *ἐξέστη* der LXX spricht für eine Verbalform des Stammes *חרר*. Bei einfacher Rückübersetzung ergäbe sich *חָרַר* oder *הִחָרַר* (VOLLERS) oder *יִחָרַר* (zuerst SIMSON); aber WELLHAUSEN's *הִחָרִירִי* dürfte doch angesichts der vorausgegangenen Imperative vorzuziehen sein. Das gilt auch gegenüber dem graphisch besonders leichten *אֶחָרִירִי*, das PROCKSCH jetzt liest, da das 'Ich' Jahwes erst in 9 b. 10 eintritt und hier neben den vorausgehenden Anrufen nicht zu erwarten ist.

V. 9. Für *שָׁמָּה* ist hier die sachlichere und häufigere Bedeutung „Einöde“ (so WELLHAUSEN) wahrscheinlicher als die neuerlich beliebtere „Entsetzen“, d. h. Gegenstand des Entsetzens. Hinter Benjamin kommt im Fortschreiten nach Norden Ephraim an die Reihe, hier der Stamm, und beide werden dann in *שְׁבִטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל* zusammengeschlossen. — *תּוֹכָהּ* ist sicherlich hier nicht „Strafe, Bestrafung“ (GUTHE, ALT, SELLIN usw.); denn die hätte ja in der Gegenwart schon eingesetzt, stände nicht erst bevor. Die „Entscheidung“ aber steht noch bevor: „am Tage, wo es zur Entscheidung kommt“, besser noch als „Abrechnung“ (WELLHAUSEN). — Das *כִּי* vor *שְׁבִטֵי* bedeutet schwerlich „in“ (ALT), und ist für „wider“ (SELLIN) nicht deutlich genug; am wahrscheinlichsten bleibt WELLHAUSEN's „über“, den Gegenstand bezeichnend. Redet Jahwe (s. oben), so bedeutet *הוֹדַעְתִּי* seine Offenbarung durch den Propheten, also sachlich dasselbe, als wenn der Prophet spräche. Ob es mit dem Perfektum oder dem Praesens (nach G K § 106 i) zu übersetzen ist, kann man streiten; im ersten Falle wiese Jahwe „auf frühere Kundgebungen, doch wohl zu derselben Sache“, zurück (so ALT, S. 545 f.), nach denen dann Umschau zu halten wäre. Aber viel näher liegt es doch, mit WELLHAUSEN usw. hier nur eine Bekräftigung der jetzt gebotenen Verkündigung zu sehen, insbesondere der deutlich erst auf die Zukunft gehenden über Ephraim, samt der Ausdehnung über ganz Benjamin in 8 b β.

V. 10. Die Einsetzung von *יִשְׂרָאֵל* für *יהודה*, in der einem MARTI und NOWACK eine ganze Anzahl von Auslegern gefolgt sind (vgl. die Namen bei ALT), kommt nach der richtigen Bestimmung der Zeitlage gar nicht mehr in Frage, und ebensowenig die Erklärung der Grenzverrückung (Dt. 19¹⁴; 27¹⁷) durch die Jes. 5⁸, Mi. 2² gerügte Latifundienwirtschaft, wie schon WELLHAUSEN sie unter Beibehaltung von Juda vertrat. Dagegen entscheidet bereits das *שָׂרִי*, das hier nur von den politischen Führern verstanden werden kann;

auch das פ des Vergleiches verlangt einen weiteren begrifflichen Abstand. Die politischen Führer Juda's — so richtig ALT — sind zu Grenzverrückern im Großen geworden, nicht von Acker-, sondern von Landgrenzen, indem sie Gebiete, die Nordisrael gehören, an Juda reißen wollen.

Und nun der politische Tatbestand und die Einstellung des Propheten dazu. Richtig betont ALT unter Rückweis auf G. RICHTER, daß die beiden in 8a genannten Orte, Gib'a und Rama, nach I. Kön. 15¹⁶⁻²² seit Asa und Baša nicht zu Israel, sondern zu Juda gehörten. Das gibt uns freilich keine Sicherheit, daß es dabei bis zu Aħaz und Pekah's Zeiten werde geblieben sein. Die furchtbare Niederlage Amasja's von Juda durch Jehoša von Israel (II. Kön. 14^{12 ff.}) dürfte Rama samt Mišpa wieder an Nordisrael gebracht haben; nur Gib'a muß wohl nach wie vor bei Juda verblieben sein. Hier aber wird augenscheinlich ausgesagt, daß der erste Ansturm des judäischen Heeres sich schon gegen Gib'a richtete, daß also zu der hier vorausgesetzten Zeit selbst Gib'a, dicht vor den Toren Jerusalems, sich im Besitze Israels befand und von Juda erst zurückgewonnen werden mußte. Mit Recht schließt ALT daraus, daß der syrisch-ephraimitische Angriff, der, wie es scheint, sogar zu einer Belagerung Jerusalems führte (II. Kön. 16⁵ mit der Entlehnung in Jes. 7¹), das nördliche Grenzgebiet Juda's, Gib'a eingeschlossen, in den Händen Nordisraels ließ.¹ Und weiter, daß erst das Eingreifen Assyriens eine ausreichende Schwächung Nordisraels und insbesondere seiner Streitkräfte an der Südgrenze herbeiführte, um Aħaz den hier bezeugten Gegenstoß zu ermöglichen. Daß der erfolgte, ist eine sehr wertvolle Bereicherung unserer geschichtlichen Einsicht, auch was die üblen Folgen der Gegnerschaft Jesaja's gegen das assyrische Bündnis für des Propheten persönliche Geltung angeht. Und mit Recht sieht ALT darin auch eine mächtige Stütze für II. Kön. 23¹⁵, wonach selbst Bethel noch bis zu Josia's Zeiten in judäischem Besitz geblieben, die „Grenzverrückung“ der Großen Juda's also eine recht erhebliche und erfolgreiche gewesen wäre.

¹ Daß das syrisch-ephraimitische Bündnis geschlossen wurde, um „Juda zum Anschluß an ein antiassyrisches Bündnis der südsyrischen Staaten zu zwingen“, setzt ALT, S. 544, 553 f., als sichere Tatsache voraus. Für meine Gegengründe gegen diese Annahme darf ich hier einfach auf meinen Aufsatz „Jesaja und Aħaz“, ZDMG 1930, S. 125 ff., verweisen.

Aber weiter: Hosea's Stellungnahme zu diesen Hergängen. ALT (S. 545 f.) will aus V. 8 f. entnehmen, es sei Hosea „auf jeden Fall klar gewesen, daß der von Israel im Bunde mit dem Fremdvolk der Aramäer unternommene Vergewaltigungsversuch am jüdischen Bruderreich nicht im Sinne Jahwes sei“; aus 9 b insbesondere, „daß Hosea von Anfang an gegen die ganze Bündnispolitik und ihre kriegerischen Folgen aufgetreten war“; aus dem Ganzen wiederum, daß „Juda das Recht, daß es Jahwe auf seiner Seite haben wird, wenn es das okkupierte Grenzgebiet zurücknimmt und darüber hinaus an israelitischem Lande die Unbill rächt, die ihm geschehen ist“, „daß es damit die Strafe vollzieht, die Jahwe über das ungehorsame Israel hat verhängen müssen“. Es muß doch festgestellt werden, daß dies alles — daß nach Hosea's Einsicht der Krieg gegen das Brudervolk nicht nach Jahwes Sinne gewesen, daß er von Anfang an dagegen aufgetreten sei, daß Juda bei seinem Gegenstoß bis in das Herz des Nordreichs das Recht und Jahwe auf seiner Seite habe, daß es damit nur Jahwes Strafe an dem ungehorsamen Israel vollziehe — daß das alles dem Wortlaut gegenüber nur fromme Wünsche sind. Nichts als der Schrecken über Juda's Kriegserfolge gibt sich in V. 8 f. als die Empfindung Israels gegenüber den angekündigten Tatsachen kund, und 9 b versichert nichts als die Zuverlässigkeit der Ansage. So enthalten die Verse nur Klage, aber keine Anklage und keine Strafandrohung. Das ergibt sich am deutlichsten aus dem Vergleich mit V. 10; ob man ihn mit 8 f. zusammenschließt oder auf eigene Füße stellt, darauf kommt gar nichts an. Da haben wir in a die scharfe Anklage — wie gemeine Verbrecher so handeln die Großen Juda's — in b die Strafansage Jahwes, in möglichst gesteigerte Wendungen gekleidet. Daß Juda weit entfernt ist, Jahwe und das Recht auf seiner Seite zu haben, wird damit sonnenklar, und daß auch das mildeste Seitenstück dazu gegen Israel, das doch zu allem den Anlaß gegeben hat, sich vermissen läßt, weist, wenigstens *ex silentio*, Hosea als auf Seiten seines Staates stehend, als treuen Nordisraeliten aus. Daß er einsichtig genug möchte gewesen sein, die Gefahr vorauszusehen und daher — in etwaigen anderen Reden — vor Bündnis und Krieg zu warnen, mag sich allenfalls damit vertragen; aber ein ausdrücklicher Hinweis auf dergleichen müßte viel klarer und bestimmter lauten als der Wortlaut von 9 b.

Nach alledem begreift sich sehr wohl, daß ALT V. 10 von V. 8f. als damit unverträglich löst: er sieht darin (S. 551) geradezu eine Wandlung im prophetischen Urteil und sucht die durch ein Seitenstück bei Jesaja — zwischen K. 7f. und 10 — zu rechtfertigen. Den Anlaß dazu findet er eben in einem zeitlichen Abstand und dem, was die Zwischenzeit gebracht hat. Aber diese Zwischenzeit zu beweisen genügt das Perfektum היו nicht: „sie sind Grenzverrückern gleich geworden“ durch das, was ihnen in V. 8f. nachgesagt ist; ob das schon bis zum letzten Ende gediehen ist oder nicht, macht dabei keinen Unterschied. Und daß „Juda das Strafmaß überschritten und sich an Israels ererbtem Boden vergriffen hat“, sah ALT doch S. 546 — vgl. die Anführung oben (S. 19) — als zu der berechtigten Rache für die erlittene Unbill gehörig und von Jahwe selber Juda zugebilligt an. Gerade daraus, daß in V. 8f. jegliches „prophetische Urteil“ sich vermissen läßt, ist die Unvollständigkeit dieses Verspaars und die Notwendigkeit seiner Ergänzung durch V. 10 mit Sicherheit zu erschließen. Dasselbe ergibt sich auch umgekehrt von V. 10 aus. Es ist im höchsten Grade unwahrscheinlich, daß die Anklage in 10a einen neuen Spruch beginnen, daß der Tatbestand, der dazu den Anlaß gab, nicht im unmittelbaren Zusammenhang damit sollte angegeben sein. So muß es aus allen Gründen dabei bleiben, daß V. 8f. und V. 10 als ein einziger Spruch zusammengehören, der aus dem Ausgang des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges stammt, Nordisrael die Rache Juda's ansagt, aber Juda's Vorgehn dabei schwer verurteilt.

c. V. 11-15.

11. Vergewaltigt ist Ephraim, geknickt am Recht,
Weil es ihm gefiel, (den Götzen) nachzulaufen.
12. (Drum ward) ich zur Motte für Ephraim
Und zum Wurmfraß für das Haus (Israel).
13. Als aber Ephraim seine Krankheit sah,
Und (Israel) sein Geschwür,
Da ging Ephraim hin zu Assur
Und (Israel) zum Großen König;
Aber der vermag nicht (sie) zu heilen,
Noch von (ihnen) weichen zu machen das Geschwür.

14. Denn ich bin gleich dem Löwen für Ephraim,
Und gleich dem Junglev für das Haus ‹Israel›:
Ich, ich zerreiße und geh' davon,
Schleppe fort, und niemand entreißt's.
15. Geh' davon, ‹will mich lagern› an meiner Stätte,
Bis daß sie ‹stutzen› und mein Angesicht suchen;
Sind sie in Not, so verlangen sie nach mir:

Hier meint ALT mit seiner Erklärung aus dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriege ganze Arbeit getan, den Parallelismus von Ephraim und Juda im überlieferten Text gerechtfertigt zu haben, und SELLIN stimmt ihm darin zu. Wer würde sich nicht freuen, sich ihnen anschließen zu können; denn sicher ist es ein ungewöhnlich gewaltsames Verfahren, drei- und viermal (6⁴) auf kleinem Raume den einen Namen durch den andern zu ersetzen. Meine Wiedergabe schon zeigt, daß ich doch dabei bleiben muß, und das wird nun zu begründen sein. ALT sieht sich wieder genötigt, V. 11 als Spruch ganz für sich allein zu nehmen, weil er eben nur von Ephraim redet, V. 12 ff. von beiden Reichen. Um dann V. 12 ff. als neuen Spruch auf eigene Füße zu stellen, muß er das י vor dem אֲנִי zu Anfang streichen und löst damit gewalttätig und füglich gegen seine eigene Überzeugung (S. 561 f.) den inneren ursächlichen Zusammenhang zwischen Jahwe's Handeln und dem Ergehn seines Volkes. In der Vergewaltigung und Rechtsberaubung Ephraims sieht er bereits den letzten Ausgang des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges, die schwere Beraubung durch Assyrien, die „nur einen Rest des alten Israel als einen Rumpfstaat weiter bestehen ließ“ (S. 554); auch Juda's Übergriffe (V. 10) schließt er ein. Und verschuldet hat Israel das dadurch, daß es „seinem Feinde“ (צָרָא statt צִי mit DUHM) nachlief, seinem Erbfeinde Aram, von dem es sich zu dem antiassyrischen Bündnis hat verleiten lassen. Also ein rein politischer Fehler, mit dem alles abgemacht ist! Schlecht stimmt das zu dem Entweder — Oder auf S. 561 f.: „Politik und Religion“. Und aller organische Zusammenhang mit dem Folgenden ist damit aufgegeben. Mit Recht tritt SELLIN alledem entgegen. Wie viele andere Ausleger folgt er der LXX, indem er die Participia von V. 11 aktivisch faßt, und indem er hinter עֹשֶׂק nach LXX τὸν ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ ein יָרִיבוֹ

Die Gründe gegen diese Entscheidung folgen unten bei der Einzelauslegung.

(PROCKSCH תְּרִיבּוֹ) ergänzt. Der Gegner ist ihm natürlich Juda, und so gewinnt er hier schon ohne den Namen das Nebeneinander der beiden, das die folgenden Verse in der Überlieferung beherrscht; daß es sich sofort als Gegnerschaft einführt, paßt vortrefflich zu ALT's Deutung. Mit צָרָוֹ schließt er sich ihm an, versteht darunter auch Syrien, aber als Juda's, nicht Ephraims eigenen Feind; das ist keine Verbesserung, da es als Entschuldigung für Ephraim wirkt: Ephraim wäre nicht selbst Juda's Feind, sondern hätte sich nur von dessen Feind mitnehmen lassen. Und nun beginnen die synonymen parallelen Aussagen über Israel und Juda: in V. 12 die gleiche Züchtigung durch Jahwe, in 13 a die gleiche Empfindung für deren Wirkung; in 13 b, dem Anrufen Assyriens, mußte „Juda“ erst durch Textänderung hergestellt oder eingefügt werden, und dafür mag man geltend machen, daß V. 14 mit dem Nebeneinanderstellen beider wieder auf V. 12, 13 a zurückgreift. Aber schwere Bedenken weckt schon V. 12. V. 11 bringt zweifellos eine Anklage gegen Ephraim, mag man ihn fassen, wie man will. Aber nur gegen Ephraim, nicht auch gegen Juda: wie ist es dann möglich, daß Jahwe beide in gleicher Weise züchtigt, Juda also ganz ohne Angabe eines Grundes? Denn V. 10 darf man dafür nicht heranziehen, da er mit V. 8f. ganz auf eigenen Füßen steht, auch Jahwes Strafe erst für die Zukunft angekündigt wird, während sie hier schon erfolgt ist, gefühlt wird und Entschlüsse nach sich gezogen hat. So begreift man, daß ALT lieber die Verbindung zwischen V. 11 und 12 löst; aber die Folge ist nur, daß dann die Strafe für beide ohne Angabe eines Grundes eingeführt wird. Und nun die durch Textänderung zur Stelle gebrachte Gesandtschaft beider nach Assur — SAYCE, WELLHAUSEN, OETTLI, HALÉVY ergänzen יְהוּדָה hinter וְיִשְׂרָאֵל, ALT und SELLIN setzen וּבֵית יְהוּדָה für וְיִשְׂרָאֵל ein, was sachlich auf das Gleiche herauskommt.¹ Die Schwierigkeiten des so geschaffenen Tatbestandes sind unabsehbar. Denkbar wäre ja diese Einführung Schulter an Schulter, wenn Israel und Juda Assur im Wettbewerb zum Bundesgenossen beehrten: darum aber kann es sich niemals gehandelt haben, am wenigsten beim syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg. Daß diese Einführung an „einen Kollektivschritt der

¹ Daß sie alle damit unter die gleiche Verdammnis fallen, wie die, die Juda durch Israel zu ersetzen wagen, darf am Rande vermerkt werden. Einigemal mehr oder weniger macht doch keinen Unterschied.

Nachbarreiche“ könnte denken lassen, gibt ALT S. 558 zu, lehnt aber PROCKSCH's Annahme, daß Juda sich an Menachem's Tribut 738 möchte beteiligt haben, entschieden ab (S. 559, Fußn. 4), weil weder urkundlich begründet noch sachlich einleuchtend, was sicher richtig ist.¹ Freilich fiel auch ALT's Deutung des ganzen Abschnitts aus dem syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriege damit einfach dahin. Dasselbe gilt aber, wenn man sich mit SELIN an die urkundliche Bezeugung hält, Israels Vorgehn auf den Tribut Menachems von 738 (II. Kön. 15¹⁹f.), das Judas auf den des Aḥaz von 735 (II. Kön. 16⁷⁻⁹) bezieht. Denn dann haben die beiden Vorgänge gar nichts mit einander zu tun; vielmehr ginge dann die Anklage nur auf das Bündnissuchen als solches, ohne Rücksicht auf Zeit und Anlaß. Was aber Juda insbesondere betrifft, so war es nicht ein chronisches Leiden durch von Jahwe verhängte Plagen (V. 12, 13 a, 14), was Aḥaz zu diesem Schritte trieb, sondern augenblickliche schwere Bedrohung durch auswärtige Feinde, und das verträgt sich sehr schlecht mit der hier vorliegenden Fassung.

ALT endlich besteht auf der Bindung beider Gesandtschaften an den syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg, aber in sehr gewagter, ja ganz unmöglicher Weise. Für Juda bleibt es natürlich bei II. Kön. 16⁷⁻⁹; dem gegenüber bleibt das geäußerte Bedenken in Kraft. Aber auch Ephraim meint ALT mit seinem Anrufen Assurs auf diesen Krieg festlegen zu können: „in ihm hatte sich Juda zu dem Gang nach Assur entschlossen . . .; nach ihm mußte das unterlegene Israel den gleichen Weg einschlagen, um aus den Händen des assyrischen Siegers wenigstens einen Teil des alten Besitzstandes zurückzuerlangen und nicht wie der aramäische Bundesgenosse ganz vernichtet zu werden“ (S. 559f.). „Da ging Ephraim zu Assur“, sagt der Text, und meint damit ohne jeden Zweifel die weite Reise der Gesandtschaft vom Jordan bis zum Tigris — nach der Niederwerfung Israels durch Tiglat-Pileser bedurfte es deren nicht, da man Assur zur

¹ In seiner Schrift „*Der Staatsgedanke in der Prophetie*“, Gütersloh, 1933, S. 20, Fußnote, erwägt PROCKSCH die Möglichkeit, „daß in Hos. 5⁸ff. nicht der Gegensatz des syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieges vorliegt, sondern eine ältere Episode.“ Da er ebenda im Text (Z. 6 f.) 5¹⁸ mit Entschiedenheit von „Menachems Tributzahlung an Tiklat Pileasar III. (738)“ versteht, so muß er wohl die Annahme von Juda's Beteiligung daran trotz ALT's Widerlegung hier erneuern, sollte dann aber doch deutlicher sprechen. Eine „ältere Episode“, die hier gemeint sein könnte, ist ja vollends gar nicht auszudenken.

Hand hatte, im eigenen Lande. Und Verhandlungen, Bündnisanträge? Macht die der restlos Unterlegene dem Sieger? Sicher hat Assur Israel die Bedingungen nach seinem souveränen Willen auferlegt, ohne es zu fragen: ALT selbst nimmt (S. 553 f. Fußn. 5) an, daß die milderen Bedingungen für Israel — „Aram wurde vernichtet, Israel nur geknechtet“ — sich dadurch erklären, daß Aram die führende Rolle spielte. Vergeblich sucht er (S. 560) aus der Ermordung Pekachis und der Anerkennung seines Mörders Hosea durch Assyrien für diesen eine erfolgreiche assurfrendliche Aktion zu erschließen. Dafür fehlt nicht nur das Zeugnis, sondern auch der Raum. Und vollends: eine solche, lediglich postulierte, völlig bedeutungslose Geste an erster Stelle, vor der mindestens um Jahresfrist und bei umgekehrter Sachlage vorausgegangenen Aktion Judas, die den Assyrer schon zur Stelle gebracht hat, der Fassung nach also, als wäre es der erste Schritt, der von Palästina her gegen Assur gerichtet wurde: das alles ist ganz unmöglich, und SELLIN erhebt mit Recht dagegen Einspruch, freilich ohne selbst eine befriedigende Lösung bieten zu können.

Zu dem allen aber kommt noch ein Letztes. Zwei Gegner, die, wie Israel und Juda im syrisch-ephraimitischen Kriege, auf Tod und Leben gerüstet (vgl. Jes. 7^b) einander gegenüberstehn, können nicht in so harmloser synonymmer Parallele mit einander gekoppelt werden, wie die beiden uns hier in V. 12, 13 a, 14, der Annahme nach auch in 13 b, begegnen. Das ästhetische Bedenken ALT's (S. 557 f.), daß das „immer noch leichter zu ertragen sei, wenn die parallelen Glieder wenigstens zwei verschiedene Größen gleicher Art nennen, als wenn sie nur verschiedene Bezeichnungen der nämlichen Größe seien“, kann gegenüber dieser Unmöglichkeit gar nicht in Anschlag gebracht werden, wird aber mit anderen Formfragen gebührend zu prüfen sein. Die sachliche Ablehnung eines Doppelgegenstandes für diese Anklage und Strafansage darf ich mit dem Rückweis auf die schon berührte Tatsache schließen, daß sie in V. 11 mit dem Vorgehn gegen Ephraim allein einsetzt.

Die Formfragen mag das letzterwähnte Bedenken eröffnen: ist auch Hosea der Meinung, daß sich verschiedene Bezeichnungen der nämlichen Größe im Parallelismus schlecht mit einander vertragen, insbesondere Ephraim und Israel, wie Viele seit MARTI in V. 12–14 meinen lesen zu müssen? Das Gegenteil beweist er uns in V. 1–7,

wo in 3 a, 3 b und 5, also ebenfalls dreimal dicht hinter einander, derselbe Parallelismus sich findet. Da über V. 8–10 hinweg V. 1–7 und V. 11 ff. inhaltlich eng mit einander zusammengehören, ist das auch sachlich eine starke Stütze für die vorgeschlagene Änderung, bzw. für die Annahme, daß יהודה und בית יהודה erst nachträglich für יִשְׂרָאֵל und בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל eingesetzt sind. Ist diese Annahme als solche unzulässig, der angenommene Eingriff ohne Beispiel? Durchaus nicht; vielmehr haben wir an 5 b β die Erfahrung gemacht, daß eine spätere Hand bestrebt war, Juda mit in den Bereich der Predigt Hosea's zu ziehen, und konnten dort bereits auf Stellen in allen vorhergehenden Kapiteln (1⁷; 2¹⁻³; 3⁵ a β ; 4¹⁵ a β) zurückverweisen, von denen dasselbe gilt. Handelt es sich dort überall um Einschübe, hier um Änderung, so erklärt sich das leicht daraus, daß der weitmaschige Parallelismus hier dies leichtere und bequemere Verfahren an die Hand gab. Fast möchte man die Möglichkeit anheimgeben, daß der Urheber der Änderung in seiner Vorlage für יִשְׂרָאֵל die Abkürzung י vorfand und guten Glaubens in יהודה ausschrieb. Gerade bei der häufigen Paarung der beiden gleichbedeutenden Namen Ephraim und Israel würde sich solche Bequemlichkeit eines Schreibers in der Fortsetzung von V. 3–5 recht wohl begreifen lassen.¹ Daß man aber in V. 12 ff. die beiden Größen Ephraim und Juda neben einander zu finden erwartete und zur Stelle brachte, ist wiederum leicht zu verstehen, da V. 10 und 11 sie dicht hinter einander eingeführt hatten, und man den tiefen Einschnitt hinter V. 10 nicht erkannte oder beachtete. Und noch eine letzte Frage: wem sagt Hosea sonst Paktieren mit dem Ausland tadelnd nach, beiden Reichen oder dem Nordreich allein? Nur Ephraim: mit Assyrien 8⁹, mit Assyrien und Ägypten 7¹¹ und 12² (vgl. auch 9³; 10⁶). Hier, in Nordisrael, war dies dauernde Politik, zur Gewohnheit gewordenes Verfahren, wie das vollends von „Ephraim“ in 7⁸ ff. grundsätzlich festgestellt und gegeißelt wird; in dem kleinen, fast immer nur auf sich allein angewiesenen Juda dagegen handelte es sich 7³⁵ (II. Kön. 16⁶ ff. Jes. 7) nur um einen einzelnen zweifelten Griff in höchster Not. Auch deshalb gehört Juda nicht in diesen Zusammenhang; denn der schildert chronische Gebrechen. So wird man MARTI, NOWACK, CHEYNE, HARPER folgen und für

¹ Ich will darauf nicht als auf meine Meinung festgelegt werden; ich kann sehr wohl ohne das auskommen.

יהודה hier dreimal und 6⁴ ebenfalls יִשְׂרָאֵל herstellen müssen. Gar zu leicht macht sich PROCKSCH den Einspruch dagegen in der schon angeführten Schrift „*Der Staatsgedanke in der Prophetie*“ (S. 20 Fußn.) mit dem Satze. „die früher weit verbreitete Meinung, יהודה bei Hosea sei überall spätere Korrektur, sei schwerlich richtig“, woraufhin er S. 19 f. im Texte 4¹⁵; 5^{10. 12. 14}; 6⁴ als Beweise für die (reichlich knappe) Feststellung verwendet, daß sich „aus Hosea's Urteil über Judäa für den Südstaat kein anderer Schluß ergebe.“ Daß er S. 19 weiter oben sogar 2¹ f. als echt hoseanisch verwertet, ohne irgend von Bedenken dagegen zu reden, scheint mir ganz unzulässig. Aber wertvoll ist das Zugeständnis (S. 19 Fußn.), daß 3⁵ b β [lies α β] ein Zusatz sei, und noch deutlichere Sprache redet, daß er von 1⁷ und 5⁵ b β schweigt, hier also offenbar die spätere Eintragung von Juda anerkennt. Damit ist auch den übrigen Stellen das Urteil gesprochen.

V. 11. Die Frage, ob עֲשׂוֹק oder עֲשָׂק (bzw. עֲשׂוֹק) und רָצוּן oder רָצִין — LXX gibt vielmehr עֲשָׂק und רָצִין wieder, und so liest VOLLERS — wurde schon berührt. Ihre Entscheidung hängt wesentlich von der über das letzte Wort des Verses, das unmögliche צו, ab, und so mag davon zuerst gehandelt werden. Von den vielen Vorschlägen dafür, die HARPER anführt, kommen die meisten nicht ernstlich in Betracht. Wie schwer es ist, dem צוֹ DUHM's, dem GUTHE, ALT, SELLIN folgen, einen befriedigenden Sinn abzugewinnen, ist oben schon dargelegt; auch die Verbindung mit הֵךְ אַחֲרֵי ist dafür kaum zu belegen. Alles aber spricht für die durch τὰ μάταια der LXX, durch Syr. und Targ. belegte Lesart עָשָׂו = עָשָׂו (vgl. Hi. 15³¹), das Jer. 18¹⁵ (vgl. auch Ps. 31⁷; Jon. 2²) ganz klar für „Götzen“ gebraucht wird, ebenso wie הֵכָלִים häufig und כְּבֹדִים Am. 2⁴. Auch für das הֵךְ אַחֲרֵי ist damit der fast ausschließlich verbundene Gegenstand, göttliche Wesen, gewonnen. Mit Recht stellt OERTLI gegen WELLHAUSEN fest, daß das keineswegs „eine gar zu nichtssagende Phrase“ sei: gegen was sonst geht denn Hosea an als gegen Götzendienst, unter allen Gestalten und allen Namen? Vortrefflich paßt dazu auch das הוֹאִיל, die Eigenwilligkeit geißelnd: es hat es nicht besser gewollt. Man darf geradezu übersetzen: „es hat vorgezogen, den Götzen nachzulaufen“, natürlich, statt Jahwe zu folgen. Das Perfektum הֵכָה wird durch Dt. 1⁵ gestützt (vgl. weitere Beispiele G K § 120 g) und ist wohl als das Härtere vorzuziehen; ebenso

leicht ist die Aussprache הָלַךְ graphisch kaum schwerer הָלַךְ . Wie aber nun die Entscheidung für Götzendienst Israel zum Gewalttätigen und Rechtsverletzer hätte machen sollen, was ja durch das begründende כִּי ausgesagt wäre, ist doch in keiner Weise abzusehen; darum die von LXX vertretene und von so vielen der Besten übernommene aktive Aussprache der Konsonantgruppen עֲשֶׂה und רָצַח schwerlich am Platze. Auch das $\text{τὸν ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ}$ der LXX, von SELLIN hinter אֶפְרַיִם als יָרִיבוֹ aufgenommen, bürgt nicht dafür. Es ist nur Epexege, ergänzt das fehlende Objekt in Parallele zu dem מִשְׁפָּט hinter רָצַח und überlastet unnötig die ebenso wie b vierhebige Zeile. Aber „Ephraim wird nicht beklagt, sondern gescholten“, sagt WELLHAUSEN. Nicht gescholten, sondern als bestraft eingeführt; und als Grund für die Bestrafung, um den es natürlich auch gescholten werden könnte, bringt b den Götzendienst. Auch das Gefühl der Krankheit und das Herbeirufen des Arztes Assur in V. 13 f. spricht durchaus für das überlieferte passive Verständnis; mit Recht entscheidet sich neuerdings ALT wieder dafür. Schwer ist es freilich, genauer zu bestimmen, worin die von Ephraim empfundene Vergewaltigung und Rechtsverletzung bestehen mag. Weit überwiegend werden beide Verben, gern auch gekoppelt (Am. 4¹; I. Sam. 12^{8f.}), für Mißhandlung der machtlosen Volksgenossen durch die Vornehmen und Regierenden gebraucht (Mi. 2²; Jer. 7⁶; 21¹²; Sach. 7¹⁰; Jes. 58⁶; Hi. 20¹⁹; Spr. 14³¹; 22¹⁶; 28³). Die wenigen Stellen, wo es sich um Unterdrückung eines ganzen Volkes handelt, haben es alle mit Israels schwerem Geschick zu tun, dem geschichtlich eingetretenen (Jes. 52⁴; Jer. 50³³; Ps. 105¹⁴) oder dem — nachträglich — angedrohten (Dt. 28^{29, 33}). In diesem Sinne treffen sie hier, auf das noch bestehende Israel, in keinem Falle zu. Aber auch der erstere Gebrauch kann kaum im eigentlichen Sinne in Betracht kommen, da „Ephraim“ hier nicht den von den mächtigen Volksgenossen bedrückten Bruchteil des Volkes bedeuten kann. Die Schwierigkeit läßt sich wohl nur so heben, daß Ephraim völlig personifiziert eingeführt wird, wie das ja die Krankheit und das Geschwür in V. 13 f. ohne weiteres an die Hand geben. Seine Nöte werden daher in dem עָשָׂה und רָצַח genau so gekennzeichnet, als wenn es sich um den Fremdling, die Waise, die Witwe, die Geringen und Armen der oben aufgeführten großen Reihe von Stellen handelte. In Wirklichkeit sind alle die politischen Schwierig-

keiten und Verfallserscheinungen gemeint, die König Menachem 738 veranlaßten, die Hilfe Assyriens durch schweren Tribut zu erkaufen, und die werden aufgefaßt als Folge des in Israel getriebenen Götzendienstes. Da der aber Abfall von Jahwe bedeutet, wird natürlich in aller dieser Not Jahwes Eingreifen, seine Strafe dafür erkannt, und das bezeugt nun V. 12.

V. 12. Motte und Wurmfraß sind beliebte Bilder für Verfall, erstere als Bild für Jahwes Züchtigung auch Ps. 39¹². Das knüpft durch וָאֲנִי (so auch LXX) an 11 a steigernd an. Für wahrscheinlicher aber halte ich, daß וָאֲנִי aus וָאֲהִי (vgl. 13⁷) verdorben ist, und dafür dann erst in V. 14 mit כִּי אֲנֹכִי der Nominalsatz eintritt. Das וָאֲהִי aber würde nicht an 11 a anzuknüpfen sein, sondern an 11 b: „Drum — wegen des Götzendienstes — ward ich für Ephraim zur Motte“; es geht also dem Verfall bis zu seinem Anfang und Anlaß nach. Sachlich bedeutet das natürlich keinen Unterschied. Für יְהוּדָה ist zum erstenmal יִשְׂרָאֵל einzusetzen.

V. 13 a α. Ganz ungezwungen schlägt das Bild für den Schaden um, geht dem Betroffenen näher zu Leibe in Krankheit und Geschwür, und gibt dem Schädigenden in V. 14 als Löwe und Junglevu weit größere Gewalt. מָוֹר möchte man nach der einzigen anderen Stelle Jer. 30¹⁸ (vgl. dazu das זָרִי Jes. 1⁶) fast lieber als „Wunde“ fassen; aber hier ist doch wohl nicht an äußere Gewalt gedacht, sondern wie bei הָלֵי an krankhafte Erscheinungen. Zum zweiten Mal ist יִשְׂרָאֵל für יְהוּדָה einzusetzen. ALT und SELLIN ergänzen m. c. vorher בֵּית, was für beide Lesungen dieselben Dienste tut, aber nicht nötig ist. Die beiden אַת streicht ALT; es gilt davon das Gleiche.

V. 13 a β. Für מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב bietet HARPER ein volles Dutzend Erklärungen und Vorschläge der denkbar verschiedensten Art. Daß es aber in der Parallele zu אֲשׁוּר, ebenso wie 10⁶, nur den Assyrierkönig meinen kann, stellt schon WELLHAUSEN unter Verzicht auf Lesung und Erklärung fest. Seit W. MAX MÜLLER (ZAW 1897, S. 334 f.) wissen wir, daß es einfach dessen heimischen Titel, *šarrurabû*, „Großkönig“, wiedergibt; ob man nun מֶלֶךְ יָרֵב lesen oder mit LXX (überwiegend) Ἰακείν ἄς, oder mit SELLIN, der sich scheut für das *ī* der Endung G K § 90 | n anzurufen, מֶלֶךְ בְּבִיר herstellen will, darauf kommt wenig an. Ich halte das erste, ohne Änderung eines Konsonanten, bloß mit anderer Trennung, für das

Wahrscheinlichste. — Zu dem Verbum וישלח ergänzt LXX das Objekt *πρόσβεις*: ganz unnötige Epexegeze, obgleich neckischerweise der Ausfall von מלאכים vor אלהים sich graphisch ganz leicht erklären würde. Wichtiger ist, daß וישלח, die Parallele zu וידך, kein Subjekt mit sich führt, sodaß Ephraim Subjekt bleibt, was weder logisch noch rhythmisch Anstoß bietet. Aber graphisch ganz leicht ist es auch, für וישלח zu lesen וישלח (EHRICH), sodaß das Prädikat וידך weiter wirkt und nur das gewohnte neue Subjekt erhält, logisch und rhythmisch ohne Änderung. Und ebenso leicht ist es, וישלח hinter וישלח zu ergänzen oder וישלח שלח zu lesen, sodaß Prädikat und Subjekt sich erneuern, die Zeile freilich reichlich lang wird. Schwer ist nur ein Viertes: statt dessen יהודה hinter וישלח einzufügen (SAYCE, WELLHAUSEN, OETTLI, HALÉVY, ALT, SELLIN),¹ um dadurch auch hier die beiden sachlich verschiedenen Subjekte von V. 12, 13 a α, 14 zu gewinnen. Wie dieses יהודה, in seinem Bestand an Zeichen von den vorausgehenden und nachfolgenden grundverschieden, sollte verloren gegangen sein, läßt sich auf keine Weise erklären, und ebensowenig seine bewußte Entfernung inmitten so starker Bezeugung vorher und nachher. Dagegen tritt seinem Fehlen hier die gleiche Erscheinung in der Grundlage des ganzen Abschnitts, V. 11, mit großem Gewicht zur Seite, sodaß Ephraim = Israel allein als Gegenstand des ganzen Spruches übrig bleibt und, wo der Parallelismus ein Synonym zur Stelle bringt, durchaus וישלח für יהודה hergestellt werden muß. Wir haben es hier mit demselben Mangel an Folgerichtigkeit zu tun, der sich bei solchen redaktionellen Eingriffen fast regelmäßig immer irgendwo einstellt — ich erinnere nur an die Elohim-Sammlung des Psalmbuchs. Wo וישלח als synonymes Subjekt sich im Texte vorfand, wurde es durch יהודה ersetzt; wo es fehlte (V. 11, 13 a β), nahm man sich nicht die Mühe oder wagte nicht, es einzufügen — und verrät damit die an den anderen Stellen geübte Willkür. Nur mit seiner eigenen Heimat Nordisrael hat Hosea es hier zu tun.

V. 13 b. Die Anrede in לכם und מכם paßt nicht in den Zusammenhang. GUTHE liest dafür הו' und מִכְנִי, recht unglücklich, da auch er zwei Subjekte, Ephraim und Haus Juda, herstellt; ALT

¹ GUTHE liest ויהודה יהודה statt וישלח, wovon dasselbe gilt.

streicht die beiden Worte m. c., worüber sich sehr streiten ließe; ich habe längst **קָהָם** und **מָהָם** hergestellt, und so liest jetzt EHRlich. Den Beweis für die Richtigkeit erbringt V. 15. Über **יָהָה** statt **יָהֵה** ist man sich seit WELLHAUSEN ziemlich einig.

V. 14. Vgl. das Seitenstück 13⁷ ff. — Lies **יִשְׂרָאֵל** statt **יִהוּדָה**. Natürlich ist das doppelte **אֲנִי** den Versionen gegenüber zu schützen. — **אֶמְרָה** ist nicht „ich entreiße, reiße fort, raube“ (GUTHÉ, ALT, SELLIN), sondern „ich zerreiße“, das selbstverständliche Handeln des Raubtiers. Es bedeutet nicht notwendig den Tod des Opfers; vielmehr ist seine Parallele in 6¹ **הָקָה** „Wunden schlagen, verwunden“. Als Fortsetzung tritt mit **אֶשָּׂא** das Davontragen, Fortschleppen ein, was aber auch mit dem zerfleischten Opfer geschehen kann. Das Bild des Raubtiers wird in V. 14 f., etwas anders auch in 13⁷ ff., so allseitig und lebendig wie möglich durchgeführt. **וְאֶזְכֹּר** für **וְאֶדְבֹּר** (PROCKSCH) ist kein glücklicher Vorschlag; es macht den Parallelismus lahmer und nähert den Wortlaut der Prosa.

V. 15. **אֲשׁוּבָה** „ich kehre zurück“ — das *καί* der LXX, von DUHM mit **אֲשׁוּבָה וְאֵלֶכָה** aufgenommen (auch ALT **וְאֲשׁוּבָה**), ist wohl reine Epexegeze, MT kräftiger — gibt Sinn, sagt aber wenig; ich halte (mit GIESEBRECHT) den Vokalbuchstaben für falsche Ergänzung und lese **אֶשְׁכָּח**; für das **אֵל** bei **יֵשֶׁב** vgl. I. Sam. 28²³, für **יֵשֶׁב** vom Raubtier Ps. 17¹²; Hi. 38⁴⁰. Es wird dadurch das Lauern und Zuhalten ausgedrückt, wie wir das vor dem **עַד** brauchen, und ein genaues Seitenstück geschaffen zu Jes. 18⁴ f. Die Ausschreibung als **אֲשׁוּבָה** mag durch 6¹ beeinflusst sein. — Auch **יֵאָשְׁמוּ** ist falsch ausgeschriebenes **יִשְׁמוּ** (am besten wohl **יִשְׁמְנוּ** zu sprechen), wie das schon LXX mit *ἀπαριστῶσιν* voraussetzt und seit WELLHAUSEN fast alle Ausleger entscheiden. Die falsche Ausschreibung findet sich öfter, vgl. Hcs. 6⁶; Jo. 1¹⁸; Sach. 11⁵. H. SCHMIDT (*Sellin-Festschrift* S. 112) will wieder bei **יֵאָשְׁמוּ עַד** bleiben. Aber nicht „bis sie Buße tun“ würde das heißen, sondern „bis sie schuldig werden“; wäre aber SCHMIDT's Übersetzung richtig, so griffe das dem Folgenden unrichtig vor. — **יִשְׁחַרְנֵנִי**: die starke Form, Suffix an der alten Endung **וְ**, betont den tiefen Einschnitt, ebenso der Dreizeiler, der unbedingt anzuerkennen und nicht durch Paarung der letzten Zeile mit der ersten von 6¹ (ALT, SELLIN) zu verwischen ist, zumal gerade die beiden letzten Zeilen mit einander in genauem Parallelismus stehn. — PROCKSCH versetzt **וּבְקִשׁוּ פָנַי** an das Ende des Verses und

will damit augenscheinlich 4 Zeilen erzielen, zwei Kinaverse, 3 + 2, 3 + 2. Aber einerseits gehören die nicht hierher, und anderseits ergänzt sich „bis daß sie stutzen“ mit „und mein Angesicht suchen“ notwendig zu einem einzigen Gedanken und Versgliede. Diese beiden letzten Zeilen fallen völlig aus dem Bilde heraus: das fortgeschleppte Opfer soll den Löwen auf seinem Auslug aufsuchen! Ähnliches kann man bei HOMER oft genug finden.

d. 6¹⁻³.

1. „Auf, laßt uns heimkehren zu Jahwe, (unsrem Gotte);
„Denn er zerriß und wird uns heilen, (und) schlug und wird uns verbinden,
2. „Läßt uns (wieder) genesen nach zweien Tagen,
„Läßt am dritten Tage uns aufstehn,
„Daß wir leben vor seinem Angesicht 3. und (ihn) erkennen.
„Laßt uns streben, Jahwe zu erkennen:
„(Wie wir [nach ihm] verlangen, so werden wir ihn finden),
„Und wie der Regen wird er uns kommen,
„Wie der Spätregen, der den Acker (tränkt)“.

Wie man jemals daran hat denken können, dieses herrliche Stück Hosea abzusprechen, während es in jedem Worte so hoseanisch ist wie irgend möglich, läßt sich kaum begreifen. Und doch treten dafür neben MARTI auch CHEYNE, VOLZ und GRIMM (*Euphem. Liturg. append.* 1901) ein. Die feine Begründung MARTI's — vgl. zur Vervollständigung noch HARPER p. 281 — zeigt, daß die einseitige, durchaus irrige Meinung, Hosea sei ein reiner, unbedingter „Unheilsprophet“, dabei den Ausschlag gibt. Unser Stück muß deshalb bei MARTI denselben Weg gehn wie, ebenso irrig, 2⁹ b, V. 15 b ff. und Kap. 3. In der Tat ist es das eigentliche Seitenstück zu 2⁹ b. Wie dort das ehebrecherische Weib, so führt Jahwe selbst hier das abtrünnige Volk redend ein, mit dem erhofften und verheißenen Entschluß der Besserung und Bekehrung — vgl. dazu, bloß mit der Tatsache, ohne Rede, auch 2¹⁷ b. Nur ergießt sich dieser Entschluß hier in voller Zuversicht zu Jahwes heilender Gnade. Aber auch das ist nicht richtig, wenn Ausleger, die die Echtheit der Verse anerkennen, meinen, der Prophet lasse das bußfertige Volk mit gutem Bedacht einem unzulänglichen Vorsatz Ausdruck

geben. So HARPER: „mit einer so falschen Auffassung von Jahwe und einer so unzulänglichen Vorstellung von Buße, daß das ganze Vorgehn zu einer Farce wird.“ Oder ALT: „Die Worte klingen fromm und schön; aber sie sind sichtlich so gewählt, daß man ihnen anmerkt, wie unvollkommen die innere Wandlungsfähigkeit der Menschen eigentlich ist“, usw. Oder SELLIN: „ein Ansatz zur Besserung verrät sich daher in dem Bußgebet 6¹⁻³, aber die rechte Bekehrung ist es noch nicht gewesen, sie gleicht der der Hure in 2⁸⁻⁹, keine Erkenntnis der bisherigen Sünde“, usw. (vgl. auch noch S. 70f.). Nein, Jahwe läßt hier das Volk, nachdem es zur Besinnung gekommen sein wird (5¹⁵ a β. b), alles sich vornehmen, was er begehrt, und was, falls es zur Ausführung kommt, ausreicht, ihm seine Gnade wiederzugewinnen. Er begehrt eben nichts (vgl. 14²), als daß sein Volk „zu ihm zurückkehre“ (שׁוּב); dazu war es bisher nicht im Stande (5⁴), aber zur rechten Zeit (5¹⁵) wird es sich dazu entschließen (6¹). Jahweerkennntnis vollends ist das Entscheidende, woran es Israel fehlt (4¹⁻⁶, 5⁴); sie ist die letzte und höchste der Gnadengaben, die Jahwe der wiedergewonnenen Gattin schenken wird, um auf deren Grund den neuen Ehebund mit ihr zu schließen (2²²). Auch hier, in 6⁶, bildet דָּבַר אֱלֹהִים den Abschluß dessen, worauf es Jahwe ankommt. Ihr eifrig nachzujagen, ist aber hier Israels Vorsatz (6³, wohl auch schon V. 2). Das schließt Erkenntnis und Meiden der Sünde ein; einer Ausführung ins Einzelne bedarf es zwischen dem שׁוּב אֶל־יְהוָה und dem דָּבַר אֱלֹהִים die Anfang und Ende des Bußweges bezeichnen, durchaus nicht. Hätte Hosea dem Volke unzureichende Erkenntnis oder unzureichenden Willen in den Mund legen wollen, so hätte er diese beiden Wendungen vermeiden und viel deutlicher nach der anderen Seite hin reden müssen. Unzulängliche Bemühungen des leidenden Volkes werden in 5⁶ ganz klar geschildert; hier dagegen findet sich alles, was Jahwe begehrt. Nicht, daß Inhalt und Umfang der Vorsätze, die er das Volk äußern läßt, ausreiche, bezweifelt Jahwe in V. 4, sondern nur, daß sie Stand halten und zu stetiger Ausführung gelangen, statt daß es bloß bei guten Vorsätzen bleibt, mit denen bekanntlich der Weg zur Hölle gepflastert ist. Aber selbst die gehören ja noch nicht der Gegenwart an, sondern werden erst von der Zukunft erwartet, die durch furchtbare Heimsuchungen (5¹²⁻¹⁵) erzwungen werden muß und soll. Unser ganzes Stück, Kap. 5 der

Hauptsache nach eingeschlossen, stellt sich Kap. 2 zur Seite; aber während dort von V. 16 an in kühnerem Glauben das endliche dauernde Heil erschaut und ergriffen wird, bleibt es hier bei einer Station auf dem weiten Wege.

Gegen H. SCHMIDT (*Sellin-Festschrift*, 1927, S. 41 ff.), der 61-6 völlig loslöst und für ein selbständiges Gedicht, von der Wallfahrt zu einem Bußgottesdienst stammend, erklärt, darf ich der Hauptsache nach auf SELLIN's Widerlegung verweisen. Die großen Gebete solcher Bußgottesdienste und -Wallfahrten, meint SCHMIDT, seien aufgeschrieben und so zu liturgischen Texten geworden, die von dem Priester immer wieder angeeignet wurden. Natürlich läßt er das Gebet in unserem Falle nur die drei ersten Verse ausfüllen. Darauf aber, meint er, sei es bei solchen Gemeindebußtagen üblich gewesen, daß noch während des Gottesdienstes eine Antwort an die betende Gemeinde erging. „Ein Prophet trat auf“ — der Eindruck wird in höchster Steigerung ergreifend geschildert — und diesen Auftritt soll nun V. 4 6 darstellen. Als schlagender Beweis dafür wird (S. 116 f.) Ps. 85 angeführt. Aber das einzige „Ich“ in V. 9 tritt doch dort nur aus der Mitte der „Wir“ hervor und fällt in V. 10 ff. wieder in das „Wir“ zurück; es vertritt auch nur das gleiche Heil wie der ganze übrige Psalm, nicht schwere Bedenken, wie hier V. 4-6. Und hier redet kein plötzlich sich erhebender Prophet, sondern Jahwe selbst, uneingeführt, weil er ja, schon seit 5¹², allein das Wort führt, was auch ohne das אָמַר der LXX vor 6¹ zweifellos feststeht. Ohne diese Einsicht wäre 6⁴ in einer Weise vom Zaun gebrochen, wie sie durch keins der von SCHMIDT beigebrachten Beispiele gerechtfertigt wird. Wie vollends Hosea, der subjektivste aller Propheten, dazu sollte gekommen sein, ein solches Formular — er selbst in jedem Worte! — irgendwo aufzulesen und ohne jede Andeutung hier einzuschalten, dafür bietet SCHMIDT kein Wort der Erklärung. Alttestamentliche liturgische Postulate und Vermutungen, ob noch so fein durchdacht, sollten doch die Fixe-gese nicht so tief beeinflussen.

V. 1. Das λέγοντες der LXX usw. ist zweifellos richtige Epexe-gese. V. 1-3 bringen die Rede, in der das יִשְׁחַרְנִי von 5¹⁵ seinen Ausdruck finden wird. Sicher haben die Übersetzer in ihrer Vorlage das אָמַר gefunden; es aber danach in den ältesten Text aufzunehmen, ist durchaus überflüssig und unrichtig. Die LXX übersetzt

hinter יהוה noch ein אֱלֹהֵינוּ. Das könnte frei hinzugefügt sein, ergänzt aber doch dem Sinne nach das Heimkehren in erwünschter Weise, zu größerer Innigkeit. Ich neige deshalb, mit DUHM allein, zur Aufnahme. Wie DUHM damit in V. 1 einen dreihebigen Vierzeiler gewinnen will, ist sein Geheimnis, wie so oft bei seinen metrischen Entscheidungen; ich gewinne damit — ohne Hebung für היא — einen vierhebigen Zweizeiler oder zweihebigen Vierzeiler, und es erklärt sich mir damit die Kürze der letzten Zeile. Natürlich kommt auf die Entscheidung darüber gar nichts an. — Daß טרף nicht Tötung aussagen will, wurde zu 5¹⁴ hervorgehoben. — נִיךְ (durch Wiederholung des ו, mit Syr.) ist seit WELLHAUSEN Gemeingut geworden; aber dann ירפאו statt ירפא (DUHM), ist schon neben ויחבשנו falsch.

V. 2. Da zweifellos dreihebige Zeilen folgen, drei in V. 2, vier in V. 3, so vermute ich zu Anfang, vor יחינו כימים, den Ausfall eines Wortes, und aus ויחבשנו meine ich dafür ein ישוב im Sinne von „wieder“ (GK § 120 g) gewinnen zu dürfen (vgl. Ps. 71²⁰). Auch darauf kommt gar nichts an. — היה ist hier nicht vom Tode erwecken — nur von Verwundung, vom Verbinden und Heilen redet V. 1 — sondern einfach herstellen, Genesung schenken, vgl. etwa Ps. 71²⁰; 85⁷; sachlich bietet Ex. 21¹⁸f. ein schönes Seitenstück aus dem Leben. „Zwei und drei Tage“ natürlich kurze Zeit und ganz kleiner Abstand. Damit wird die Güte des Gottes, der sie hat strafen müssen, hoffnungsfreudig gekennzeichnet, und das genügt vollkommen zur Erklärung. Weder darf man mit BAUDISSIN und SELLIN annehmen, daß damit an das Wiederaufleben des Adonis oder Osiris sollte erinnert werden,¹ noch bedarf es mit HANS

¹ Von der Richtigkeit dieser Erklärung hat mich auch BAUMGARTNER's schöne Arbeit „Der Auferstehungsglaube im Alten Orient“ (Zeitschr. für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft, 48, 1933, S. 193–214, vgl. dort S. 212 f.), die mich erst nach Abschluß des Mscr. erreichte, nicht überzeugen können. Es handelt sich nicht um ein „Erwecken“, weil kein Töten vorausging, wie denn auch die Toten nicht reden würden. Und daß der zweite und der dritte Tag unterschieden werden als zwei Stufen des Hergangs, der Tag der Genesung und der des Sicherhebens vom Bette, paßt zwar vortrefflich zu dem Bilde eines menschlichen Krankenlagers, hat aber an dem, was wir über die Mythen von Osiris, Attis und Tammuz wissen, kein Seitenstück. Sollte darauf hier angespielt werden, so hätte das viel unmißverständlicher gefaßt werden müssen. Daß freilich der Glaube an Sterben und Wiederaufstehn dieser Götter nirgends weniger am

SCHMIDT der Heranziehung eines Volksglaubens, nach dem die drei Tage schon einen Aufschub bedeuten würden. **פָּנִיו וְנַחֲיָה** redet nicht nur vom Amlebenbleiben, sondern von einem neuen Leben nach Jahwes Wohlgefallen. Das verträgt besonders gut die Ergänzung und Steigerung durch das **וְנִרְעֶהוּ** „und ihn erkennen (zu erkennen lernen)“, das EHRICH richtig aus dem im Anfang von V. 3 unbrauchbaren **וְנִרְעָה** gewinnt. Das ist viel besser als die einfache Streichung dieses Wortes (GRAETZ, SELIN) oder seine Streichung samt dem **פָּנִיו וְנַחֲיָה** (ALT), oder die Gewinnung eines **וְנִרְעֶהוּ צִדְקָתוֹ** durch Hinzuziehung von **דְּרַעַת** in V. 3, um damit die vierte Dreierzeile (?) für V. 2 zu gewinnen (DUHM), oder was man sonst vorschlagen mag.

V. 3. Um das **וְנִרְעֶהוּ** erleichtert, gibt **a a** bis **יהוה** anstoßfrei einen vortrefflichen Sinn: dem, was ihres Gottes Güte für sie im Sinne hat (2 b), sollen und wollen sie selber vorarbeiten und den Weg bahnen. Die Aufforderung zu eigenem Handeln, das allem vorausgehen muß, wird damit im Anschluß an **1 a a** wieder aufgenommen. Für das Streben nach idealen Gütern wird **דָּרַשׁ** häufig genug gebraucht, mit **מִשְׁפָּט** Jes. 1¹⁷; **טוֹב** Am. 5¹⁴; **פָּקְדֵי יְהוה** Ps. 119⁴⁵; **שָׁלוֹם** Dt. 23⁷. Alle Änderungsvorschläge können daher außer Betracht bleiben.

Für die Herstellung von **a β** bietet LXX mit **ἐδούσαμεν αὐτόν** = **נִמְצָאָהוּ** oder **נִמְצָאָנוּ** (allenfalls auch **נִמְצָאָהוּ**, wenn man 8³; Jes. 23⁶ folgen darf) statt **מִצָּא** den besten Anhalt; das fehlende **נ** zu Anfang wird durch Wiederholung leicht gewonnen. Daß es sich um das Finden Jahwes handeln muß, beweist das **יָבוֹא** von b, vor allem aber 5⁶. Dadurch war der Weg gewiesen zu GIESEBRECHT's vortrefflicher Verbesserung, dem Finden entsprechend ein Suchen vorauszusetzen und deshalb in dem **כִּשְׁחַר** die Aufnahme des **יִשְׁחַרְנִי** von 5¹⁵ zu sehen, zugleich die Fortsetzung des **נִרְשָׁה**. So ergab sich aus **כִּשְׁחַרְנִי** bloß mit Umstellung eines Buchstaben GIESEBRECHT's schönes **כִּשְׁחַרְנִי בֵּן**; daß **בֵּן** für den Nachsatz auch auf temporales **בְּ** folgen kann, zeigt I. Sam. 9¹⁸. Das ist seitdem fast allgemein angenommen. Nur OETTLI, EHRICH und HANS SCHMIDT bleiben bei der Morgenröte: „wie die Morgenröte so sicher werden wir ihn

Platze wäre als in diesem reuigen Bekenntnis zu Jahwe allein, liegt auf der Hand. Hätte Hosea eben damit die Unzulänglichkeit der Umkehr kennzeichnen wollen — ich verweise dagegen auf die letztvorhergehenden Seiten (S. 31—33) — so hätte er dem umso deutlicheren, ja krasserem Ausdruck geben müssen, zumal Jahwe dem zukünftigen Bußbekenntnis seine Fassung gibt.

finden“ oder „ist sein Finden“ (מָצָאָה EHRlich, weniger gut).¹ Dafür kann man sich ja auf den Regen für Jahwes Kommen in der folgenden Zeile berufen. Aber die Morgenröte findet man doch nicht, sondern sie stellt sich ein, und נָכוֹן als „sicher“ für ein zukünftiges Geschehen ist auch recht unwahrscheinlich. Man wird deshalb durchaus GIESEBRECHT's Herstellung festhalten müssen. — Wunderschön hebt der zweite Halbvers hervor, wie wohltätig der Zusammenschluß mit Jahwe wirken muß; denn etwas Wohltätigeres als den Regen gibt es in der Natur nicht. Statt יורה lesen alle Neueren seit SEBÖK und PERLES nach dem Syr. יִרְיָה oder יִרְיָה, und das leitet einen Relativsatz ein, ist nicht als selbständige Aussage zu fassen, deren Subjekt Jahwe wäre. Sehr wohl kann der Spätregen auf die späte Entscheidung und Wendung zum Guten anspielen sollen.

e. V. 4—6.

4. Was mach' ich mit dir, Ephraim,
Was mach' ich mit dir, (Israel)?
Gleicht doch eure Hingabe einem Morgenwölkchen
Und dem Tau, der früh verfliegt.
5. Darum (zerschmetterte) ich (sie) durch die Propheten,
Erschlug sie durch die Worte meines Mundes,
Und (mein) Recht (wie) die Sonne (ging) es auf:
6. Daß Hingabe mir gefällt, und nicht Schlachtung,
Und Gotteserkenntnis über Brandopfer geht.

Selbst wenn Israel sich zu solchem Bußwillen wird aufgeschwungen haben, bleibt Jahwe unschlüssig, ob er ihm seine Gnade wieder wird zuwenden können, weil er seinen Wankelmut aus Erfahrung kennt. Früher schon hat er deshalb schweres Gericht verhängen müssen, das mit dem Wirken seiner Propheten und der Herausstellung seines Wesens und seiner Forderungen Hand in Hand ging. Sicher ist dabei zunächst an Elia und Elisa gedacht, was WELLHAUSEN richtig hervorhebt; aber durchaus möglich bleibt es nach 12¹⁴, daß Hosea an mehr als eine Zeit denkt und vor allem Mose unter die hier aufgerufenen Propheten mit einschließt. Die Propheten durch Textkritik auszuschalten (DUHM, ALT), ist hier sicher ebenso verfehlt, wie ihre Beibehaltung in 4⁵. Den Zusammenhang zwischen V. 4 und V. 5 f. zu verneinen und vor V. 5 einen

¹ H. SCHMIDT gibt für מָצָאָה „ist sein Aufgang“, ohne zu sagen, wie er liest. Vermuten darf man wohl מָצָאָה.

ausfall anzunehmen (WELLHAUSEN), ist ein Fehlgriff, der nur bei NOWACK Nachfolge gefunden hat. Mit V. 5 wird das Stück zum Vorläufer der religionsgeschichtlichen Rückblicke, die bei Hosea von 9¹⁰ an fast ununterbrochen auf einander folgen und dem Buche sein besonderes Gepräge geben.

V. 4. Das עֲשֵׂהָ hat sein genaues Seitenstück an Jes. 5⁵. Es ist nicht sowohl „jemand etwas antun“ — am wenigsten „*sensu malo*“ (NOWACK) als Strafvollzug — als „sich zu jemandem verhalten, ein Verhalten zu ihm einschlagen“, ganz allgemein; die Wendung ordnet sich bei GESENIUS-BUHL der Gruppe 3 a ein. — Natürlich muß für יהודה wieder יִשְׂרָאֵל eintreten, wie in 5¹²⁻¹⁴; aber das zwingt nicht, mit EHRLICH חסדך statt חסדכם zu lesen, weil „Israel und Ephraim begrifflich identisch sind“. Die Verdoppelung durch den Parallelismus kann formell beibehalten werden, umso leichter, da es sich um ein Kollektivum handelt. V. 5 fährt vollends mit dem Plural fort, und in 5¹³ gibt sich auch EHRLICH damit zufrieden. — חֶסֶד hier und V. 6 natürlich nicht „Gnade, Gunst“. Man pflegt es mit „Liebe“ wiederzugeben, EHRLICH und SELLIN treten für „Frömmigkeit“ ein, was ja an חֶסֶד eine Stütze hat. Aber beide Begriffe lassen den Ausdruck für Entschluß und Handeln vermissen, der doch hier durchaus erwartet werden muß, da חסד in V. 4 zweifellos die Summe von allem darstellt, was Israel in dem Bußbekenntnis V. 1-3, das Jahwe in einer besseren Zukunft erwartet, sich vornimmt. Ich ziehe deshalb „Hingabe“ vor, im Sinne des arabischen *Islām*. Jedenfalls handelt es sich um das Verhalten zu Gott, nicht um „Liebe zum Nächsten“, wie NOWACK nach Preisgabe von V. 1-3 und dem Zusammenhang damit erklärt. Aber auch im Zusammenhang tritt H. SCHMIDT dafür ein und erhebt (S. 123 f.) Einspruch dagegen, daß חֶסֶד jemals „Liebe zu Gott“ bedeute. Daß das doch der Fall ist, beweist unsre Stelle am sichersten, da in V. 1-3 von dem Verhalten gegen den Nächsten in keiner Weise die Rede ist und V. 6 vollends nur von dem Verhalten zu Gott handelt. — Die Bilder des zweiten Halbverses werden von CHAPLIN in ZDPV XIV, 1891, S. 110-112 wunderschön beleuchtet.

V. 5. Gegen die Streichung der ersten Zeile a a, von den Propheten, wie DUHM und ALT sie vertreten,¹ wurde schon oben Ein-

¹ Nicht PRÄTORIUS, den ALT ebenfalls als Vorläufer anführt; er hat diese Streichung in „Die Gedichte des Hosea“ 1926 zurückgezogen.

spruch erhoben; ungenannt hat beiden ohne Zweifel das metrische Vorurteil, das den Dreizeiler nicht duldete, hier wieder übel mitgespielt. Mit gewohnter klassischer Kürze WELLHAUSEN: "הרגתם = חצבתי"; בנביאים = באמרי פי", die unausweichliche Parallele der beiden Glieder von a. „Also“, fährt WELLHAUSEN fort, „gelten die Propheten, welche die Katastrophe verkünden, als ihre Bewirker, das Wort beschwört die Sache herauf.“ Das ist unbedingt richtig; unmöglich ist die schon von LXX, allen Griechen, Syr., Vulg. vertretene, von SELLIN wieder aufgenommene Deutung, die die Propheten zum leidenden Objekt der beiden Verba macht. SELLIN verrät uns nicht, wie er sein „hab sie getötet mit den Worten meines Mundes“ von den Propheten vertreten will. Es kann doch nicht heißen sollen, daß Jahwe die Propheten der Wut des Volkes über die von ihnen verkündeten Gottesworte haben erliegen lassen. Und sein „Darum habe ich dreingehauen unter die Propheten“ wäre doch auch durch den Wankelmut Israels in V. 4 nur auf den denkbar weitesten logischen Umwegen zu begründen. Natürlich sucht SELLIN in dieser Aussage vor allem den von ihm in unbewußter Nachfolge Goethe's behaupteten gewaltsamen Tod Mose's, des Propheten von 12¹⁴. Wenig spricht dafür die unbestimmte Mehrzahl „die Propheten“; handelte es sich um den Propheten vor allen anderen, so würde er scharf herausgehoben sein. Woran die Mehrzahl „die Propheten“ nicht erlaubt vorbeizusehen, hebt WELLHAUSEN mit durchschlagender Sicherheit hervor: „Hosea denkt an die Propheten der Vergangenheit, wie Elias und Elisa, deren Auftreten alle großen Krisen der Geschichte des Reiches Israel einleitete.“ Sie sind eben nicht selbst als Opfer gefallen, wohl aber haben sie nach der Überlieferung durch ihr Wort Ströme von Blut fließen machen, durch die Salbung Hazael's zum König von Syrien (I. Kön. 19^{15, 17}; II, 87 ff.) und Jehu's zum König über Israel (II. Kön. 9). Das stimmt buchstäblich zu 5 a β und zu der richtigen Auslegung von a α, die in den Propheten nicht die Objekte, sondern die Subjekte gewalttätigen Handelns sieht. Und wiederum entspricht es vortrefflich der hohen Schätzung des Prophetentums bei Hosea und dem unbedingten Bestehen darauf, daß Jahwe selbst stets unmittelbar in das Geschick seines Volkes eingreift. — Schlecht paßt in jedem Falle das überlieferte חֲצַבְתִּי. Dies Tatwort bedeutet überall nur die Arbeit des Steinmetzen — auch Jes. 10¹⁵ dürfte

נִרְוֶן wohl ein Steinwerkzeug, nicht die Axt des Zimmermanns bedeuten, obgleich auch das nichts ändern würde — auch „dreinhauen“ unter Menschen (so SELLIN) kann es doch nicht heißen. HARPER meint, Israel sei hier mit Holz oder Stein verglichen und erhalte durch das Behauen die ihm zugedachte Gestalt; aber das könnte doch nicht, wie er meint, schwere Strafe bedeuten, in Parallele zu הרג in aβ, sondern müßte auf ein gutes Ende hinauslaufen. An der einzigen anderen Stelle, wo הצב „niederhauen“ eines Lebewesens zu bedeuten scheint, des Ungeheuers *Rahab*, liest man ziemlich allgemein für המִחְצֶצֶת ein המִחְצֶצֶת, und das schlägt OETTLI sehr einleuchtend auch für unsre Stelle vor, als מַחְצֵצִי, und mit dem nötigen Suffix מַחְצֵצִים. Sehr wohl kann der Verlust des Suffixes schon auf die von den Vss. vertretene falsche Auffassung zurückgehn.¹ — In aβ ist nur gegen das lahme הִרְעֵמִי Einspruch zu erheben, das DUHM und SELLIN — PRAETORIUS seit 1926 nicht mehr — für הרגתים einsetzen, nachdem sie aa gestrichen haben. Ohne so starke Streichung tritt H. SCHMIDT ihnen im wesentlichen zur Seite, zugleich als der Einzige, der mit dem הצבתי vollen Ernst macht. Er streicht nur עַל־כֵּן zu Anfang und damit die logische Verknüpfung mit V. 4, liest dann הצבתי בְּנֹכָיָא „Ich habe es in Stein gehauen durch den Propheten“, verbindet das ersparte מ mit הר von הרגתים zu מַהֲרֵר, und gewinnt aus הִרְעֵמִי ein הִרְעֵמִי: „Vom Berge aus habe ich es kund getan/Mit Worten meines Mundes.“ Ob das als hoseanisches Hebräisch anzuerkennen ist, darf man freilich bezweifeln, nicht minder, ob es deutlich genug die mosaische Gesetzgebung ins Gedächtnis ruft, und ob V. 6 als deren Quintessenz gelten darf. Es wird doch bei dem „Darum“ zu Anfang bleiben müssen und eine sehr starke Folgerung aus 4 b damit eingeführt sein. Absichtlich sind die stärksten Wendungen gewählt, um zu zeigen, welch furchtbare Waffe Jahwes Wort aus dem Munde der Propheten ist. — Zu Änderung des Suffixes in die Anrede הִרְעֵמִיךָ (MARTI) besteht kein Anlaß; schon der Rückblick auf vergangene Geschlechter rechtfertigt den Umschlag in die dritte Person.

b. Ein besonders schlagendes Beispiel, wie bloß durch irrige, recht gedankenlose Abteilung der Buchstabenreihe der Sinn verwirrt worden ist. Das Richtige bietet LXX (auch Syr. und Lat.)

¹ PRAETORIUS liest רִצְחֵמִי בְּיָמֶיךָ; für unsere Auffassung wäre רִצְחֵמִי auch allenfalls zulässig, aber graphisch weniger leicht.

mit καὶ τὸ κρίμα μου εἰς φῶς ἐξελεύσεται, was denn seit 1½ Jahrhunderten so gut wie allgemein angenommen ist, natürlich mit dem Perfektum statt des Imperfektum: וְכִשְׁפָּטִי כְאֹר יֵצֵא. Aber כִּשְׁפָּט ist hier nicht „Gericht“, auch nicht „Gebot“ (H. SCHMIDT), sondern „Recht“: „was bei mir Recht ist, bei mir gilt.“ Worin das besteht, sagt in jedem Falle V. 6, auch wenn man ihn als selbständigen neuen Satz, mit „denn“ angeschlossen, versteht. Richtiger aber scheint mir EHRICH's Auffassung als Objektsatz, wie gewöhnlich mit כִּי „daß“ eingeführt (G K § 157). Auch ALT, SELLIN, SCHMIDT bieten vor V. 6 einen Doppelpunkt und lassen כִּי unübersetzt. Sachlich bleibt beides sich gleich. — אֹר ist hier geradezu die Sonne, ein schönes Seitenstück zu dem „wie der Regen“ in V. 3. — Hier rächt sich das metrische Bedürfnis an MARTI und PRAETORIUS: sie holen an b nach, was sie DUHM und ALT gegenüber an a a versäumt haben, die Beseitigung des Tristichon. Indem sie die Zeile — MARTI mit כִּשְׁפָּטִי, PRAETORIUS mit כִּשְׁפָּטִי — an 3 b anschließen, vervollständigt MARTI damit seine 5 Tristichen seit 5¹⁵, PRAETORIUS seine 5 Siebener. Aber die Zeile hat sicherlich hinter V. 3 nichts zu suchen, sondern würde dort nur den wundervollen Abschluß aufheben, während sie hier zur Kennzeichnung des Sieges Jahwes und zur Einführung von V. 6 durchaus am Platze ist.

V. 6. Es ist nicht einzusehen, warum die beiden verschiedenen Wendungen וְלֹא in a, כִּן in b, genau dieselbe Bedeutung haben sollten, sei es, daß man dem ersteren komparativischen Sinn aufzwingt, oder dem zweiten negativen, „mit Absehen von“ (so G K § 119 w, richtig 133 b). Man lasse dem Propheten das Recht des Variierens. Den zweiten Halbvers kann man noch von הפצתי abhängen lassen; dichterisch kräftiger ist der selbständige Nominalsatz „Und Gotteserkenntnis geht über Brandopfer“. Das Brandopfer, das feierlichste und wertvollste unter allen Opfern, und sogar in der Mehrzahl, enthält eine gewollte Steigerung. Auch hier steht unter allen Forderungen Jahwes und unter allen religiösen Gütern für den Menschen „Gotteserkenntnis“ wieder obenan, eines der bezeichnendsten Merkmale der hoseanischen Predigt; vgl. oben zu 6¹⁻³ (S. 32). Man darf darin geradezu einen mystischen Zug sehen, ein Sich-einfühlen in Gott, fast ein Inihmaufgehn. Der rechte Jahwedienst wird zum Abschluß scharf und knapp festgelegt: er ist geistiger Art, und kein äußerer, ob noch so beflissener Kult kann dafür ein-

treten. Hier steht Hosea Schulter an Schulter mit Amos (Kap. 5) und Jesaja (Kap. 1).

Wenig bleibt hinzuzufügen. Daß 5¹¹⁻⁶ einen einzigen, geschlossenen Gedankengang darstellen, hat sich mit Sicherheit ergeben. Seine Zeitlage kann nicht zweifelhaft sein. Für das Bündnis mit Assyrien (5¹³) steht uns nur das Jahr 738 zu Gebote, und die Feindschaft Assyriens vom Jahre 735 bildet den noch nicht erreichten *terminus ad quem*: zwischen 738 und 735 also ist das Prophetenwort gesprochen, und wohl näher bei 738 als bei 735.

Ebenso sicher hat sich uns ergeben, daß die Verse 5⁸⁻¹⁰ ganz auf eigenen Füßen stehn, und daß sie den syrisch-ephraimitischen Krieg widerspiegeln, in seinem letzten Abschnitt, wo Juda, von Assyrien entsetzt, zum Angriff übergegangen ist. Dies Wort fällt also in das Jahr 734. Es ist an seine jetzige Stelle verschlagen, der Zeit nach zu früh eingerückt, zwischen zwei frühere Stücke. Denn auch 5¹⁻⁷ zeigt uns Nordisrael in seinen Grundfesten noch unerschüttert, ob auch ungünstige Zeichen der Zeit zu unzulänglicher Einkehr den Anlaß geben (V. 6), und der Prophet bösen Ausgang ansagt (V. 5, 7). Die Zeit für dieses Wort ist also wesentlich dieselbe wie die von 5¹¹⁻⁶, und auch des Propheten Anklage ist die gleiche: falscher Jahwedienst neben offenbarer Untreue. Dennoch ist es nicht ratsam, die beiden Stücke zu einer einzigen langen Rede zusammenzuschließen; vielmehr wird V. 11 der Anfang einer neuen sein. Die eigentliche Heimsuchung wird doch in V. 7 erst angesagt; in V. 11 f. aber steht Israel schon mitten darin, und das Bündnis mit Assyrien (V. 13) ist schon ein Versuch, ihrer Herr zu werden. So fällt 5¹⁻⁷ zwar auch vor 735, aber früher als 5¹¹⁻⁶, man darf wohl annehmen, früher als das assyrische Bündnis von 738, weil dieser wichtige Schritt nicht erwähnt wird. Leichter erklärt sich durch die Trennung der beiden Abschnitte die Einschlebung des späteren Worts V. 8-10. Soll man annehmen, daß eine Lücke den Raum und den Anlaß für die Einschlebung bot? Nicht undenkbar wäre es, daß vor V. 11, der sofort *in medias res* einbricht, einige Verse ausgefallen wären, die den in V. 11 a kurz gekennzeichneten Zustand anschaulich schilderten. Aber für notwendig kann ich diese Annahme nicht halten.

FROM PILLAR TO POST¹

MILLAR BURROWS

BROWN UNIVERSITY, PROVIDENCE, R.I., U.S.A.

Reports of Palestinian excavations tell of many "sacred pillars" or *maṣṣēbōt*. Doubts as to their significance, however, have been aroused by the discovery that some of them were simply columns to support the roofs of houses or other buildings. DUSSAUD in 1905 and VINCENT in 1907 had already protested against "la consécration religieuse de toutes ces colonettes;"² nothing, however, has done more to bring about a general degradation from pillar to post than the famous stables of Megiddo.³ Here the stone columns standing in long rows were evidently both supports for roofs and hitching posts for horses, but they are exactly like those which earlier excavators took for *maṣṣēbōt*. Similar rows of posts or columns, roughly hewn in quadrangular form, have been found in abundance at other places. ALBRIGHT suggests that they mark a mode of construction borrowed possibly from the Phoenicians.⁴

Have we then no authentic *maṣṣēbōt*? There are several other kinds of standing stones to be considered. In fact the most striking thing about the stones called *maṣṣēbōt* in the reports is their extraordinary diversity of form. Let me select a few examples. At Balāṭah, the ancient Shechem, SELLIN found three large blocks having rectangular holes cut in them, and lying on two of the blocks were slabs, the ends of which were found to fit into these holes. Two of the blocks stood on either side of the temple doorway; the other was near the altar in the temple court. The slabs had rounded edges, and their tops, which were broken off, may have been rounded also. Set up in their sockets, they seemed to

¹ This paper was read at the 1933 meeting of the American Oriental Society in New York.

² VINCENT, *Canaan*, p. 67n.

³ GUY, *New Light from Armageddon*, pp. 37ff.

⁴ ALBRIGHT, *Archaeology of Palestine and the Bible*, p. 115.

indicate that there had been three *maṣṣēbōt* at this temple, one by the altar and one on each side of the door. The last two recalled the pillars before Solomon's temple, (which, however, are not called מצבות but עמודים); the other, SELLIN thought, might have been the *maṣṣēbāh* by which Abimelech was made king of Shechem (Judges 9⁶), possibly even the stone called *El Elohe Yisrael* in Gen. 33²⁰ and the one said to have been set up by Joshua as witness of the covenant (Josh. 24²⁶).¹

Of very different form is a stone found in the Mekal temple at Beisān. ROWE calls it a *maṣṣēbāh* and describes it as "a cone-shaped piece of basalt 50 centimetres high resting upon a base of unhewn stones²." Near the great stepped altar in the same temple was another stone which ROWE calls "a baetyl or small portable conical stone of basalt, 26 centimetres high."³ For this smaller 'baetyl' the term conical is approximately correct,⁴ but to call the *maṣṣēbāh* cone-shaped is unfortunate. It is almost cylindrical, at best a very much truncated cone, the diameter at the top being about two thirds of the height and the diameter at the bottom not much more than that.⁵

A third type of stone is represented at 'Ain Shems (Beth-Shemesh) and Tell en-Naṣbeh. It is variously described. FISHER called the Beth-Shemesh stone a "phallic-shaped object."⁶ GRANT himself says that it is "shaped somewhat like a cigar,"⁷ elsewhere he calls it simply "a stone, a meter and a half in length and circumference, carefully chip-hewn."⁸ Near it, built into a wall, was a socket into which it fitted.⁹ BADÉ speaks of the stone found near his eastern temple at Tell en-Naṣbeh as "a conical baetyl, or *mazzebah*."¹⁰ It has essentially the same form, however, as the Beth-Shemesh stone and does not differ notably from it in size, except that it seems to

¹ SELLIN, *ZDPV*, xl, 312; li, 119-122; Plates 8-10.

² *QSPEF*, 1928, p. 78; ROWE, *Beth-Shan, Topography and History*, p. 11.

³ ROWE, *op. cit.*, p. 13. In *QSPEF*, 1929, p. 84, the height is given as 10 inches.

⁴ Cf. photograph, *QSPEF*, 1929, Plate XII, 1 (after p. 94).

⁵ Cf. photograph, ROWE, *op. cit.*, Plate 22, 1.

⁶ GRANT, *'Ain Shems Excavations I*, p. 15.

⁷ *QSPEF*, 1929, p. 206.

⁸ GRANT, *Beth Shemesh*, p. 51; cf. photograph at p. 45.

⁹ *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ *QSPEF*, 1930, p. 13.

be broken or cut off at one end.¹ Here again the word 'conical' is unfortunate.

Two of the Gezer pillars resemble these two stones to some extent but are less regular in form. MACALISTER felt sure that both these pillars (Nos. IV and VIII) were intentionally phallic in form. He described them as "rounded," but like the others in the alignment they were flattened on the western side, in which were cup-hollows, those of VIII being connected by a channel. In MACALISTER's drawing No. VIII appears to be considerably smaller near the base than toward the top, though the photographs do not exhibit this peculiarity. Like the one at Beth-Shemesh, this stone had a pedestal with a socket; indeed in this case the pillar was actually standing in its socket when found. Both of these stones at Gezer were larger than the ones at Tell en-Naşbeh and Beth-Shemesh.

The other stones at Gezer varied greatly in form and size. No. I, the largest, had a peculiar cleft in the top which has occasioned much conjecture. It was roughly squared, and No. III was like it though less regular. Nos. II and III, like IV and VIII, had cup-hollows in their flattened western faces. No. VII had a curved groove cut in its western surface but no cup-hollows. It had evidently been brought from a distance, being of a kind of stone not found locally. Nos. II and V were much smaller than the rest. No. II was evidently older than the others. Polished spots on its surface recalled objects kissed by thousands of pilgrims. MACALISTER, following a suggestion made by PETERS, regarded this stone as the baetyl of the high place and the others as commemorative stelae erected at various times beside it.²

Most of the pillars we have noted are in groups, but there is no uniformity in their arrangement. At Gezer there were eight stones standing in the alignment as found; flanking the eighth were the broken stumps of two others, showing that there had once been at least ten, extending in a rather wavy line from north to south. Under the base of No. I was still another resembling II,

¹ Prof. BADE has not yet, so far as I know, published a photograph of this stone. My statement is based upon memory, aided by a lantern slide made from a photograph which Prof. BADE kindly provided for the use of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

² *QSPF*, 1903, pp. 27ff; *Gezer* II, pp. 381-406 (plan, fig. 486).

which, as we have noted, was older than the others, but it is improbable that this buried stone, though it may once have stood with No. II, was ever a part of the larger alignment. Counting a stone found previously on the surface and belonging possibly with a large socket beside the alignment,¹ we have a total of twelve pillars, but how many were ever standing at one time is problematic. At Shechem there were three stones, similar in size and form but not grouped together. Near the Beth-Shemesh stone were five others which GRANT does not describe but designates as *baetyls*. Near the Beisan *maṣṣēbāh* was the famous Mekal stele, and in the same building was the smaller "baetyl." Only at Tell en-Naṣbeh was the stone entirely alone.

Now are these stones — all or any of them — really *maṣṣēbōt*? The question is not whether they had some connection with a cult, but whether this Old Testament word may rightly be applied to them. To answer that we must review the biblical usage of the term and see what it implies as to the size, shape, number and arrangement, and the function of the Canaanite or Hebrew *maṣṣēbōt* in Palestine.

As to their size, one or two passages would suggest at first sight that the *maṣṣēbāh* was small enough to be lifted by one man. Jacob set up as a *maṣṣēbāh* a stone which he had just been using as a pillow.² Jacob, however, was no ordinary man. When he rolled the stone from the well's mouth for Rachel,³ it is clearly implied that he was performing a feat which ordinarily required the strength of several men.⁴ Heroes of the past are easily credited in popular tradition with extraordinary size and strength; therefore we cannot exclude the possibility that the Bethel *maṣṣēbāh* may have been a stone too large to be erected by one man except in legend. The same may be said of the stone which Jacob "took and set up" for a *maṣṣēbāh* when he made his covenant with Laban.⁵ The twelve stones which at Joshua's command were carried by twelve men and set up at Gilgal (or in the Jordan)⁶ may have been considerably larger than the men who told the story could have lifted. When Rachel died, Jacob set up a *maṣṣēbāh* beside (or possibly on)

¹ Cf. COOK, *Rel. Anc. Pal.*, p. 81.

³ Gen. 29¹⁰.

⁴ Cf. vv. 2⁸.

² Gen. 28¹⁸.

⁵ Gen. 31⁴⁵.

⁶ Josh. 4¹⁻⁹, 20.

her grave, and the narrator adds, "It is the *maṣṣēbāh* of Rachel's Tomb to the present day¹." Here it is not necessarily implied that Jacob erected the stone with his own hands or without assistance, any more than the statement that Absalom "took and set up" a *maṣṣebet* implies that he performed the labor himself. In the latter case we read again, "and it is called Absalom's Monument to this day²." In all these instances well-known standing stones, possibly prehistoric menhirs or even peculiar natural formations, may have been connected by popular legend with the names of national heroes, like the pillar of salt at Jebel Usdum. In that case they would either be of sufficient magnitude to attract attention or of a striking shape. Such mighty menhirs as those of Bāb ed-Drāc and Sarbūt Ader,³ which were doubtless called *maṣṣēbōt*, might well give rise to legends of this sort. It is commonly believed that Gilgal was a pre-Israelite cromlech. In short the Biblical material affords us no sure criterion of size.

As regards the shape of the *maṣṣēbāh* also we are left very much in the dark. We have just observed that prehistoric megaliths or natural rock formations may have been referred to in the passages cited. The *maṣṣēbōt* actually used by the Canaanites and Hebrews in historic times, however, would hardly be of such a character. In the stories of the Bethel *maṣṣēbāh* and the one erected in connection with Jacob's covenant with Laban the text implies that a natural stone which happened to lie at hand was used. The monument to Rachel and the one set up by Absalom may have been artificially fashioned, but there is nothing in the context to suggest this. Neither do the verbs used in connection with the *maṣṣēbōt* imply any kind of artificial shaping. Verbs indicating cutting, hewing, carving, or engraving are never applied to them. Hosea 10¹ says that the Israelites "made beautiful" (היטיבו) their *maṣṣēbōt*, and NOWACK⁴ sees in this an indication that in later times the *maṣṣēbōt* were fashioned artificially, but it is more natural to take the verb as referring to some kind of decoration, as with flowers or garments. Nowhere are the *maṣṣēbōt* said to have been made (עשה). Twice the verb בנה is used, but in both cases another object intervenes between the verb and the word *maṣṣēbāh*: Moses

¹ Gen. 35²⁰.² 2 Sam. 18¹⁸.³ BASOR No. 14, p. 10.⁴ *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 19.

built an altar and twelve *maṣṣēbōt*,¹ and in Rehoboam's reign the people of Judah built high places and *maṣṣēbōt* and *asherim*.² In the latter instance, whether we regard the *asherah* as a tree or a pole, the word 'build' is not literally applicable to it; therefore it need not be regarded as applying in a strict sense to the *maṣṣēbōt*. Everywhere else the *maṣṣēbōt* are simply said to be placed, erected, or set up.³ The verbs used to indicate their destruction signify removing, throwing or pulling down, or breaking,⁴ and in one case burning.⁵ Except for this last instance, obviously a special case, the evidence distinctly favors the assumption that the *maṣṣēbāh* was normally a natural stone in the form of a rough column or slab, so that it needed only to be "set up" in order to serve its special purpose. The use of hewn stones, especially in later times, is nowhere definitely excluded; in one case it is apparently implied, for Jer. 43¹³ seems to mean by "the *maṣṣēbōt* of Beth-Shemesh that is in the land of Egypt" the famous obelisks of Heliopolis. Nowhere else, however, does the context even suggest that the stone was cut or fashioned. It is rather remarkable, therefore, that the excavated *maṣṣēbōt*, so called, have all, so far as I can determine, been artificially shaped to some degree.

Admitting that hewn stones may have been used, there is certainly no indication in the Old Testament that any particular shape was necessary or even usual. There is nothing whatever to suggest, for example, that the *maṣṣēbāh* was ordinarily or ever conical in shape.⁶ So far as the biblical data afford us any basis for judgment,

¹ Ex. 24⁴.

² 1 Kings 14²³.

³ הציב Gen. 35²⁰; 2 Sam. 18¹⁸; 2 Kings 10²⁷; חקים Lev. 26⁷; Deut. 16²². הרים Gen. 31⁴⁵. שים Gnn. 28¹⁸.

⁴ הסיר 2 Kings 10²⁷, (cp. פארץ חרר Ezek. 23¹¹). שבר Ex. 23²⁴, 34¹³; 2 Kings 18⁴, 23¹⁴; 2 Chron. 14², 31¹; Jer. 43¹³.

⁵ 2 Kings 10²⁶. Cp. Is. 6¹³, where מצבת apparently means the stump or trunk of a tree.

⁶ The idea that a *maṣṣēbāh* ought to be conical may be responsible for the application of this and similar adjectives to such dissimilar objects as the stones at Tell en-Naṣbeh and Beisan. Apparently the idea is derived from representations of conical cult-objects on coins of Syria and Cyprus (for conveniently accessible reproductions cf. COOK, *Rel. Anc. Pal.*, Pl. xxxiii). That these objects were called either baetyls or *maṣṣēbōt* is not certain, and RONZEVALLE has recently argued that on the coin of Byblus which is most frequently cited in this connection the so-called cone is in reality a pyramid of late Egyptian form and probably represents the tomb of Adonis (*Mél. Univ. St. Joseph, Beyrouth*, XV, 139ff; I have seen only the review by THIERSCH in OLZ, 1933, cols. 9-12).

the variety in size and shape of our supposed *maṣṣēbōt* constitutes no objection to their being regarded as such. This only means, however, that no definite indication is given in the Bible as to the form of the *maṣṣēbāh*. Even with all due allowance for local peculiarities and for changes in different periods, it is hard to believe that objects so dissimilar as those I have described could have had the same name and function.¹

The number of *maṣṣēbōt* to be found at any one place is not defined by our literary material. Passages forbidding the erection of *maṣṣēbōt* by the Israelites or commanding the destruction of those belonging to the Canaanite shrines naturally use the word in the plural, but without implying that there was more than one *maṣṣēbāh* at each shrine, since the accompanying nouns (high places, altars, *asherim*, etc.) are also in the plural. When the erection of particular *maṣṣēbōt* is recounted there are never more than one, except in Ex. 24⁴ where Moses builds an altar and twelve *maṣṣēbōt* according to the twelve tribes of Israel.² The prophecy of Is. 19¹⁹ that Yahweh will be worshipped in Egypt uses both 'altar' and '*maṣṣēbāh*' in the singular. In general it seems that only one *maṣṣēbāh* was ordinarily set up at any one place, or at least at one time. The one clear instance to the contrary, however, whatever our opinion as to the historicity of Moses' *maṣṣēbōt*, shows at least that the ancient Hebrew mind saw nothing incongruous in the idea of setting up several stones at once. As for the idea that several *maṣṣēbōt* might be erected at different times at the same shrine, there is nothing in the Bible to invalidate that supposition, but no instances are recorded. How such a group of stones would be arranged, or what would be the relative position of the *maṣṣēbōt* and the other accessories of a sacred place, our sources do not indicate at all.

Since size, shape, number, and arrangement afford us no reliable criteria of identification our decision must be based upon the use and function of the *maṣṣēbāh*. Where the purpose is definitely

¹ Of course the word may have had a more general application than our sources suggest, but it is with its use in the Old Testament that we are here concerned.

² This recalls not only the twelve stones set up by Joshua after crossing the Jordan, but also the "twelve stones according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Jacob" with which Elijah built his altar on Mt. Carmel (1 Kings 18^{31f}). In neither of these instances, however, does the word *maṣṣēbāh* occur.

indicated in the Old Testament, it is usually if not always, in part at least, to commemorate a person or an event. The *maṣṣēbāh* set up at Rachel's tomb by Jacob¹ and a *maṣṣebet* erected by Absalom to perpetuate his own memory² illustrate the commemoration of an individual. In Gen. 31^{45, 51} the stone is not only a memorial but a witness of the covenant between Jacob and Laban, like the great stone set up by Joshua at Shechem as a witness to Israel's covenant with Yahweh.³ In Ex. 24⁴ the twelve *maṣṣēbōt* are apparently intended as memorials and witnesses of the covenant, though they may have some other function in connection with the rites at the altar. Jacob's *maṣṣēbāh* at Bethel is something more than a memorial of his experience, for he anoints the stone and names it *Beth-elohim*.⁴ Elsewhere the *maṣṣēbōt* are simply mentioned along with altars, *asherim*, *ephod* and *teraphim*, and images, generally as accessories of Canaanite religion and incompatible with the service of Yahweh.⁵ In short the *maṣṣēbōt* of the Old Testament were either memorials or cult-objects, if not both, though their function and significance in the cult are not clearly defined.⁶

To determine whether the stones we are discussing served such purposes we may consider evidence of three kinds: indications furnished by the stones themselves, by their archaeological context, and by comparison with similar objects of known function in neighbouring lands. Not much is indicated by the stones themselves. Our task would be much easier if any of them bore such clear labels as the later Phoenician and Aramaic inscriptions which name

¹ Gen. 35²⁰. ² 2 Sam. 18¹⁸. ³ Josh. 24²⁶. ⁴ Gen. 28²².

⁵ *Maṣṣēbōt* are mentioned in connection with altars in Ex. 24⁴, 34¹³; Deut. 7⁵, 12³; with *asherim* in Ex. 34¹³; Deut. 7⁵, 12³, 16²²; Mi. 5¹²; with *ephod* and *teraphim* in Hos. 3⁴; with *pesilim* in Deut. 7⁵, 12³; Mi. 5¹².

⁶ This statement of the case, of course, ignores the question of an evolution in the Hebrew practice and belief regarding *maṣṣēbōt*. If the Canaanites or the ancestors of the Hebrews used standing stones as objects of worship, the Old Testament interpretation of them as having a purely memorial significance may well indicate a transition, or at least an effort to bring about a transition, from this usage to one more in accord with orthodox Yahwism. In later times, apparently, pillars were set up by Jews as altars and images were by pagans, simply as a meritorious work which would secure divine favour; cf. the pillar and inscription of Alphaeus found by ORFALI at Capernaum (SUKENIK, ZDPV. 1932, pp. 75ff).

maṣṣēbōt as such and tell why they were erected. Instead of that we have only such obscure and ambiguous testimony as is afforded by the cup-marks on the Gezer stones and the polished spots on one of them.

The archaeological context is more helpful. Every one of the examples which have been presented here was found in what was taken to be a sanctuary, and in every case there was more or less evidence for this interpretation independent of the *maṣṣēbōt* themselves. It is strongest for Beisan and Gezer, fairly strong for Shechem and Tell en-Naṣbeh, but inadequate (or inadequately published) for Beth-Shemesh. At Shechem, while WELTER seems inclined to think that SELLIN's temple had originally a military purpose, he admits that it may later have been used as a temple and that a later temple was built over its ruins.¹ THIERSCH finds its plan essentially the same as that of the Tell en-Naṣbeh temples, which he regards as representing an established type of Palestinian temple.² If he is right, they too may be accepted as places of worship, though the evidence of the small finds is not conclusive. The character of the temple at Beisan seems hardly open to question, and near the *maṣṣēbāh* was found a hollowed stone which ROWE interpreted as a basin to receive libations poured on or at the foot of the *maṣṣēbāh*.³ The latter may, however, have been a pedestal for an image or other cult-object. The sanctuary at Beth-Shemesh is not so well authenticated. Beside the 'baetyls' was found what GRANT calls "a circular slab grooved and pitted for the sacrifice of animal offerings," and just north of it were the remains of two buildings thought to be temples, one of a later period than the other.⁴ The character of these remains, however, is not fully established in the publications. For Gezer the evidence is varied and convincing, and no authority seems to question it.

As for comparison with similar objects found in neighboring lands, there is material in abundance,⁵ but the investigation of that aspect of the matter cannot be undertaken here, and I am not prepared to make a dogmatic generalization upon it.

¹ *Archäol. Anz.* 1932, cols. 307, 310f.

² *ZAW*, 1932, pp. 73ff.

³ ROWE, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴ *QSPEF*, 1929, p. 206.

⁵ It includes Egyptian, Phoenician, Greek, Babylonian, and Arab funerary and memorial stelae and sacred stones of many types, the literature on which is extensive.

So far as the evidence before us goes, I should say that among the examples here considered the term *maṣṣēbāh* in its biblical sense applies quite certainly to the pillars of Gezer, probably to the Shechem stelae, perhaps to the rounded stones of Tell en-Naṣbeh and Beth-Shemesh, and possibly but more doubtfully to one if not both of the Beisan stones. More definite conclusions would be premature, because the study is incomplete. What has been said, however, is sufficient for the purpose of this paper. It shows at least that current accounts of Canaanite and Israelite religion assume too lightly the correctness of what excavators say about their finds. Archaeologists, like the rest of us, are human, and their enthusiasm sometimes carries them beyond their evidence. Interpretations which do not prove well founded are in time abandoned or revised; in the meantime, however, they are often taken up and used as though they were established facts. Biblical scholars in particular need just now to recognize this danger. Having gone to such extremes in our literary criticism as to bring suspicion not only on our results but even on our principles and methods, we must not repeat the error by an indiscriminating use of archaeology.

NOUVELLES ADDITIONS A LA LISTE DES STATIONS PRÉHISTORIQUES DE PALESTINE ET TRANSJORDANIE

ABBÉ J. NAŞRALLAH

JÉRUSALEM.

Dans son article "*Additions à la liste des stations préhistoriques de Palestine et Transjordanie*", paru en 1929, dans le "Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society",¹ M. R. NEUVILLE signalait que "la préhistoire palestinienne est passée du domaine de la simple collection à celui de la science". Depuis cette date l'archéologie préhistorique a fait de rapides progrès. Les recherches, soit en profondeur, soit en surface, se sont développées et notablement accrues. Si les fouilles des grottes et des tells ne sont pas arrivées à nous donner une classification complète des industries lithiques du pays de Canaan, elles nous ont fourni pour les diverses phases de l'Age de la Pierre "quelques jalons . . . assez fermes, semble-t-il, pour signaler la voie et guider les chercheurs".² Quant aux recherches en surface, elles ont augmenté la liste déjà longue des gisements préhistoriques palestiniens et ont montré le bien fondé de cette phrase du R. P. BUZY: "au fur et à mesure de nos investigations, le vieux pays de Canaan nous apparaît comme un vaste échiquier où les stations se croisent et pullulent."³

Dans nos diverses courses aux alentours de Jérusalem, nous avons pu reconnaître plusieurs nouveaux gisements. Tous cependant n'ont pas été méthodiquement explorés, "nous n'avons recueilli dans quelques uns, que des pierres d'attente."

Ce sont ces nouvelles stations, inconnues des spécialistes, ou du moins non mentionnées dans les listes des gisements préhistoriques

¹ JPOS: 1929, p 114. Nous remercions M. NEUVILLE de nous avoir aidé de ses conseils dans la rédaction de ces lignes.

² AL. MALLON: "*Les dernières phases de l'âge de la pierre et les premiers temps historiques en Palestine*" Biblica, vol. XIV (1933), p. 199.

³ "*Une industrie mésolithique en Palestine (Ouadi Tahouneh)*", Revue Biblique, 1928, p. 560.

que nous avons eues entre les mains,¹ que nous voudrions signaler. Nous nous contenterons aujourd'hui d'une simple mention.

Les fruits de nos recherches, sont réunis dans la collection du Séminaire de Sainte-Anne à Jérusalem.

Al-Manāthī. — Est d'er-Rām. *Tahounien*: hachettes, pics, retouchoirs, poinçons, couteaux, grattoirs de formes diverses, grands croissants.

‘Aquabet-es-Souwān.² — Versant est de Ouādī ej-Jōz, à l'est de Jérusalem. Gisement où se mêlent plusieurs industries.

1—*Acheuléen*: coups de poing, grands racloirs, lames, poinçons.

2—*Moustérien*: quelques coups de poing éclats genre Levallois typiques, lames et pointes à plan de frappe à facettes, nucléi correspondants.

3—*Enéolithique*: hachettes, pics, pièces en dos d'âne, poinçons.

Beit Thouma. — Champs au sud et colline contre laquelle est adossé le village, *mésolithique*?

Bir Ayoub. — Sur la colline à l'ouest, *ghassoulien*: hachettes, couteaux à dos rabattu, pointes, fragments de vases en basalte, tessons de poterie.

Che‘ēb Aboū Farkha. — A droite de chemin de Abou Dīs, à une centaine de mètres de la route de Jéricho:

1—*Ghassoulien* à faciès particulier: herminettes non polies; quelques "racloirs en éventail"; lames pour la plupart bifides et gardant leur épine dorsale, quelques unes ont le dos rabattu; rares éléments de faucille; grattoirs de formes diverses; percuteurs en forme de boule.

2—A l'est de la section précédente, en mélange avec les éléments du BR. 1 initial des éléments *moustériens*, comprenant des nucléi typiques, des lames et des pointes à base unie ou retouchée.

Khallet el-Ghezlān. — Vallée au nord de la propriété des Pères Blancs, près de Cha‘fāt. *Tahounien*: hachettes, pics et retouchoirs;

¹ AL. MAILLON: "Quelques stations préhistoriques de Palestine". Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph, 1925, t. X, fasc. 6, p. 184-214. R. NEUVILLE: "Additions à la liste des stations préhistoriques de Palestine et Transjordanie", JPOS, 1929, t. X, p. 114-121. M. STEKELIS: "Prehistory in Palestine - A bibliography" (extrait du Kirjat Sépher, vol. VIII-IX). Liste dans le "Geographical Index" p. 35-39 de l'extrait.

² Nous devons la connaissance de cette station, comme de la suivante, au R. P. MULLER, des Pères Blancs.

pointes, couteaux bifides gardant l'arête centrale ou l'ayant supprimée, scies à dos rabattu, grattoirs de formes diverses, grands croissants.

Quelques grattoirs *paléolithiques*.

Khān el-Aḥmar.—Sur le versant nord d'une colline à 3 kilomètres au sud-ouest des ruines du couvent, *Paléolithique supérieur*.

Qoubāb.—Champs au sud du village, en bordure de la route de Gèzer. *Acheuléo-moustérien*: coups de poing, racloirs, pointes et lames.

Laillet ech-Cheikh.—Versant sud-est du Mont du Scandale, et vallée correspondante:

1—*Paléolithique*: l'outillage comprend surtout des lames et des pointes à base unie; quelques grattoirs; un coup de poing, une pointe moustérienne et un nucléus correspondant.

2—*Éléments énéolithiques*: gros pics, grattoirs.

Ouadi Beit-Hanīna.—En face de Mugharet Oumm ed-Daḥra et à une centaine de mètres en amont sur les deux rives du Ouadi, *Paléolithique supérieur* très roulé: racloirs, grattoirs sur bout de lames, pièces à encoches, poinçons, lames et lamelles.

Ouadi-l-Qāq.—A l'est de l'Université Hébraïque:

1—*Tahounien* fruste, sur le versant sud-ouest de la vallée: pics et hachettes, racloirs, grattoirs.

2—*Acheuléo-moustérien*, au fond de la vallée: racloirs de formes diverses dont un bon nombre possèdent le plan de frappe retouché, lames généralement à base unie, pointes à plan de frappe muni de facettes ou uni, nuclei correspondants, poinçons, grattoirs;

Quelques éléments *énéolithiques*.

3—Sur le versant septentrional de la vallée dans laquelle se jette Ouādī-l-Qāq: *mésolithique* du genre de Rehoboth¹: retouchoirs, grattoirs, poinçons, lames grossières, petits nucléi, percuteurs.

Ouādī eṣ-Ṣarār.—Rive droite du torrent à une trentaine de mètres à gauche de la route qui monte vers Qaṣṭal; *Paléolithique supérieur* roulé: racloirs, grattoirs sur bout de lames et nucléiformes, pièces à encoches, lames et lamelles, poinçons, pointes moustériennes.

Ouādī Yaḥoul.²—A l'est du couvent des Soeurs Clarisses. *Tahounien* fruste: pics, lames, pointes, grattoirs, racloirs.

¹ Sur ce gisement cf. *JPOS*, 1930, p. 216-221.

² Station découverte par le R. P. MULLER, en 1928.

Eléments paléolithiques.

Rās Abou-Halāwe—(Propriété des Pères Blancs, près de Chatfāt)

Dans une vallée au sud-est, *acheuléo-moustérien*: coups de poing, disques, éclats genre Levallois dont un certain nombre portent le plan de frappe à facettes, lames, pointes à base retouchée ou unie, nucléi correspondants.

Tell es-Şōma¹.—

1—Depuis que M. R. NEUVILLE a mentionné cette station,¹ des recherches postérieures nous ont livré de nouveaux éléments archéologiques: Hachettes et herminettes assez nombreuses, en proportion égale; la plupart sont polies au taillant; gouges, ciseaux, pics; "éléments de faucille, perçoirs extrêmement abondants"; très nombreux couteaux et scies à dos rabattu; "grands racloirs ronds"; grattoirs de formes diverses: ronds sur bout de lame etc.; quelques flèches et quelques "racloirs en éventail"; très nombreuses lamelles; moulins, broyeurs, pilons, polissoirs, grand nombre de percuteurs ronds; fragments de vases en basalte; tessons de poterie en abondance.

A l'état de mélange en dehors "des grattoirs ronds qui pourraient appartenir au Paléolithique supérieur", trois coups de poing, deux pointes à base retouchée et quelques éléments *tahouniens*.

Au centre de la limite nord du champ supérieur, monument mégalithique.—A une vingtaine de mètres au nord du monument, sur un rocher, cupule (25 cm de diamètre et 8 cm de profondeur au centre) où se déversent trois petites rigoles venant de l'ouest et unies à leur point de départ. Le point de jonction est à 19 cm de la cupule.

2—Sur les pentes nord-est du tell: belle station *mésolithique*: retouchoirs; lames dont quelques unes sont à dos rabattu; pointes; perçoirs; grattoirs de formes diverses: nucléiformes, circulaires, rectangulaires sur bout de lames; petits nucléi; percuteurs; enclumes.

Deir Dōsi (couvent de Saint Théodose). Versant gauche de la vallée qui passe au nord du monastère, un peu avant qu'elle se jette dans le Ouādī en-Nār, *moustérien*: coups de poing, lames et pointes.

¹ JPOS, 1929, p. 120.

TERRITORIAL BOUNDARIES IN NORTH-WESTERN GALILEE.

M. AVI-YONAH

JERUSALEM.

The north-western boundary of Galilee has been always somewhat puzzling to geographers of Palestine. Thus in SMITH's *Atlas*¹ it is made to vary in each period from the Maccabean to the Byzantine, without much indication from the learned author of the reason for such variations. On the other hand, in GUTHE's *Bibel-atlas*² the line once laid down is—equally without any explanation—never varied for the same periods. OEHLER, whose careful study of the boundaries of Galilee³ has contributed most to our knowledge of the subject, leaves the north-western boundary blank, although he seems to incline to a line following the Jabal Jermak. The recent studies of A. SAARISALO⁴ are not concerned with this question. It is rather to be regretted that the Mishnaic and Talmudic sources, made accessible by Prof. KLEIN,⁵ should be neglected by the cartographers.

The present writer has had recently the opportunity of studying some new material on the southern boundary of Tyre in that region. It is well known that Galilee bordered on the west with Acre and on the north-west and north with Tyre. The territory of Tyre stretched as far as Qadas⁶ and possibly bordered with the territories of Damascus.⁷ The statement of JOSEPHUS which is generally taken to indicate the boundaries of Acre fixes its northern limit, and consequently the southern boundary of Tyre, at the Ladder of Tyre (Rās en-Nāqūra).⁸ It is our present purpose to show that this state-

¹ Pls. 38–46, 54.

² Maps 9–12, 14–18.

³ *ZDPV*, 1905, pp. 1 ff., 49 ff. ⁴ *JPOS*, 1929, pp. 27–40; 1930, pp. 5–10.

⁵ *Pal. Studien* II, 1, pp. 197–254 and *ib.*, IV, pp. 51 ff.

⁶ *Ant.* XIII, 5, 6 and *BJ* IV, 2, 3.

⁷ *Ant.* XVIII, 6, 3. OEHLER, *l. c.*, p. 69.

⁸ *BJ* II, 10, 2.

ment can no longer be regarded as correct for the Byzantine period. It is indeed true that the evidence referred to below is mostly concerned with ecclesiastical boundaries. Nevertheless, we seem to be entitled by Canon 12 of the Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) to regard diocesan boundaries as corresponding to political boundaries, unless the contrary is proved.

The facts referring to the various boundary points are as follows:

(1) A "*Notitia episcopatum*" published by VAILLÉ¹ states that the "great source of Zip" (i. e. the Wādi el-Qarn) formed the boundary between the archdiocese of Tyre and the diocese of Acre. This notitia is actually of the 10th century, but is based upon material of the sixth. The fact that ez-Zib is the frontier of Palestine and that the frontier ran along the Wādi el-Qarn is confirmed by Talmudic



Fig. 1.

sources of the Roman and Byzantine period. Thus Ḥānūtā (now Kh. Ḥānūtā), north of the wādi, is regarded as outside Palestine,² while Beth Zanuta (Kh. Zuweinīta)³ and Gathun (Kh. Jātūn),⁴ both south of the wādi, are in Palestine.

(2) An inscription dated A.D. 539 was found some time ago at Kh. 'Āliya and was transferred to Ma'aliā. It has a dating (determined by the year of the indiction) which can be only fitted in with the

¹ *Échos d'Orient*, 1907, p. 140.

² *Tosefta Shebiit* III, *Yerush. Damai* II, 1.

³ *Tosefta Shebiit* III, *Yerush. Shebiit* VI, 1.

⁴ *ib.*

second era of Tyre. This shows the territory of Tyre advancing south of the wādi.¹

(3) A mosaic inscription found in a Byzantine church at Suḥmāta² has its indiction date destroyed and its dating cannot therefore be established with mathematical precision (it is in all probability 555 A.D.). This inscription contains, however, another valuable indication. In a list of church dignitaries in whose time the pavement was laid, mention is made of the archbishop and a country-bishop (chorepiscopus) without speaking of the bishop. This shows that the ancient village now occupied by Suḥmāta must have belonged to the archdiocese of Tyre, otherwise it cannot be explained why the bishop (of Acre) is not mentioned.

This curve in the border which passes south of the wādi is further confirmed by the fact that Kafr Sumei'a is regarded in Jewish sources as a border town of Palestine.³

The frontier discussed therefore took in Byzantine times the line indicated in Fig. 1. If we assume that it remained unchanged since Roman times, the proposed line would exactly fill the gap in OEHLER's map.⁴

¹ See my article in *QDAP*, III, p. 105, Pl. XXXI, 1.

² *ib.*, pp. 96-105, Pls. XXX, 3 and XXXI, 1.

³ *Gittin* I, 3.

⁴ *ZDPV*, 1905, Pl. 1 (facing p. 49).

MODERN PALESTINIAN BELIEFS AND PRACTICES RELATING TO GOD

T. CANAAN

JERUSALEM

It is a difficult task to investigate the religious beliefs of any simple people and to give a correct picture of the true condition. The difficulty lies in the fact that most religious beliefs and practices are matters of internal conviction and are exercised in private. The external and apparent religious practices of the present inhabitants of Palestine are mostly based on one of the three monotheistic religions. Those practices which have nothing in common with these religions are practiced mostly in private and are therefore more difficult to study. Although a *fellāh* woman may talk to her neighbour about things which have affected her mental life or about her acts she will hesitate to say a single word to a strange person. One has therefore to gather all idioms, greetings, curses, oaths, songs, stories, and practices which are in any way connected with a religious idea or act, and try, after sifting, to form them into a correct picture. Even this is not alone sufficient. A thorough study of every phase in the life of a Palestinian, not yet influenced by Western spiritual and religious ideas, is required. Disease and death bring the members of every simple folk back to their religious beliefs and make them unintentionally say things and perform acts which disclose something more of their fundamental beliefs. A person who has the opportunity to study such acts and sayings will understand a little more of the underlying religious ideas.

It is true that the three monotheistic religions — Christianity, Mohammedanism and Judaism — have left deep imprints in the life of the Palestinian. Mohammedan teachings have penetrated more deeply into the consciousness of the people than the two others, for most of the inhabitants of the Holy Land are Moslems. Yet there are many beliefs which are older than Islam, though they

may at intervals be harmonized with its teachings and there are practices which, though contrary to the tenets of any of three religions, are still widely practiced. In the following pages we simply try to give an analysis of the material which we have been able to gather, leaving the more important and more difficult task of explanation and derivation to students of comparative religions.

The Palestinians believe in one God. *ʾAllāh wāḥid māluḥ ṭānī*, "God is one; there is no second (God) beside him!" are the words used instead of the numbers "one", and "two"¹ when counting measures of grain.² It is widely believed that even nature proclaims the unity of God: *et-liūr bitwaḥḥid rabbhâ*, "The birds proclaim the unity of their god", through their morning song. A species of doves is said to repeat continually in its warbling *waḥḥdū rabbkum*, "Proclaim the unity of your Lord!"³ This belief in the unity of God is based on fundamental Mohammedan teachings.

Sometimes the Almighty is disregarded completely and the different members of the "Mohammedan Holy Family"⁴ are asked for help. When one loses something he climbs on the roof of his house late in the afternoon when all the inhabitants of the village have returned from their work⁵ and calls:⁶

O, you who hear this call,

Pray in the name of the Prophet.

Your first is Mohammed,

Your second is ʿAlî,

The third is Fāṭmeh, the daughter of the prophet!

O you who may have seen . . . (the name of the lost object)

O you who may know anything about . . .

O you who may know anything about . . . "⁷

¹ CANAAN, *Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition*, JPOS, VIII, 155, n. 6. This *sāʿ* is dedicated by many to Abraham; see DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte*, 1, 2, 583.

² Peasants usually begin their morning work with the exclamation *yā wāḥid yā ʾaḥad*.

³ Even the camel is believed to utter the name "ʾallāh".

⁴ This expression was coined by the author, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 66.

⁵ Heard in Dēr Ghassāneh.

⁶ *Yā sāmʿin eṣ-ṣōt ṣallū ʿan-nabī auwālkum Muḥammad ṭānikum ʿAlī et-ṭāleḥ Fāṭmeh bint en-nabī yā mīn sāf yā mīn yiʿlam yā mīn yidri*.

⁷ In the Arabic text the wording of the last line differs from that of the line preceding, but the meaning is the same.

present inhabitants of this country still adhere to some practices which clearly show belief in the supernatural powers of the *djinn*. Some of these, one would think, should be connected only with a good-natured power, a deity.¹ Thus offerings are brought to the demons, as is the case with the saints and God. A comparison between sacrifices offered to saints and God and those brought to the *djinn* exhibits the same idea in different stages of developement.² Doubtless this is a remnant of the old Semitic identification of demons with gods.³ Such identifications are met with in the Old⁴ as well as in the New Testament.⁵

The Palestinian believes that God sees what we do,⁶ hears what we say, understands our thoughts even before we utter them, feels with the suffering believer and punishes the wicked. Hence such terms as; "The lord of the blue tent (the sky) sees you"⁷; "God hears"⁸; "O God, look upon me with your eye that never sleeps"⁹; "You are present and you see"¹⁰. A line of a favorite song runs: "In honour of the One who does not slumber nor sleep"¹¹.

A stanza heard from a Christian in Jerusalem is:

nāmat 'iūn lakum w'en el-ḥaqq mā nāmāt
ulēš hal-qlūb il-qāsieh illi mā lānāt

Your eyes have gone asleep

But the eye of the True One has not slept.

Why are these (your) hearts so pitiless?

and why have they not become tender?

Many oaths speak of the "life" of God¹². *Wiḥyāt ʿallāh*, "By the life of God!" *wiḥyāt rabbnā*, "By the life of our Lord!" One of the

¹ CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, p. 2.

² In *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 186, this subject is dealt with.

³ P. FAIRBRAIN, *The Imperial Bible Dictionary*, II, 143.

⁴ Deut. 32¹⁷; I Chr. 10²⁰; Ps. 106³⁷; Jes. 65⁸, 11.

⁵ Ephes. 2².

⁶ Prov. 15⁸; Hab. 1¹⁸.

⁷ *Bišūfak ʿabū l-ḥēmeh ez-zarqā*.

⁸ *ʿAllāh sāmiʿ*.

⁹ *ʿAllāhumma ʿunzur li biʿēnak ʿilli mā bitnām*.

¹⁰ *ʿInti ḥāzer unāzer*.

¹¹ The whole song is:

subḥān man qāl lā tikšif ilnā ḥāl

bidjāh illi mā biḥfal walā binām

el-ʿafū wil-ʿāfieh usitr ed-dunyā wisitr el-ʿāḥreh

satart ʿald mā maḍd tistir ʿalli baqā

¹² In condoling we often hear the expression *hwa l-ḥaiy*, "He is the (only) living One"; *hwa l-bāqī*, "He is the (only) everlasting One".

oath formulas of the Bedouin of Beer-Sheba speaks of God's spirit (breath) producing the wind, *wallāh wiḥyāt har-rīḥ ʔillī min rūḥ ʔallāh*, "By God and the life of this wind which is (produced) by the spirit of God!"¹.

The same attributes are even more characteristic of saints. This is well illustrated in the following song in praise of *el-qutb er-Rifāʿ*:

yā ʿalīm bikulī l-ʿulūm yā sāmiʿ duʿā l-maḥlūm
lā tidʿal fi ḥaḍratnā šaḡṭyan walā maḥrūm.

O, thou who knowest everything (every science)!

O, thou who hearest the invocation of the oppressed!

Do not allow any wretched (sinner) to be in our company,

Nor any one who is excommunicated!

Every time the sailors pass the shrine of *es-šēḥ Ḥamīd*, which lies on the eastern shore of the Red Sea, south of ʿAqabah, they boil a pot (*bakradj*) of coffee and pour it into the sea with the words "This is your coffee, O *šēḥ Ḥamīd*"².

As in ancient times God still appears to some people, to guide and help them. But the saints appear more frequently to reproach, protect and to assist them. Even the demons possess this quality, as is shown by many stories. Places where a good or bad supernatural power appears are known to the people of Palestine, and are honoured in one case and avoided in the other.

The above expressions indicate that in the mind of the Palestinian the Almighty has a real personality and is a living being who thinks, feels, and wills. This idea of God possessing all the characteristics of human personality is also a distinctive feature of the Old Testament.

But in addition this Being was and is still believed to be spiritual in the sense of being invisible to mortal eyes and above and beyond all apprehension by the senses.³ This idea is well expressed in the saying "O, Thou who seest me and whom I do not see" (*yā man tarānī wana lā ʔarāk*). He is superhuman and unique not only in power, but also in wisdom, goodness, truth⁴ and holiness, as

¹ ʿARIF EL-ʿARIF, *al-qaḍāʾu bain al-badū*, p. 73.

² ʿARIF EL-ʿARIF, l. c., p. 262. The Bedouin of the Negeb honour this *welt*.

³ HASTING'S *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. VI, pp. 254 ff.

⁴ Ex. 34⁶; Ps. 3¹⁷; 78⁵²; 80¹; 103¹³; Jes. 40¹¹; Jer. 31¹⁰; Ez. 34¹¹⁻¹⁹.

also in wrath¹ and vengeance². According to the Palestinian He is "the giver of all good things" as well as the great punisher³. These two antagonistic characteristics and conceptions of the Almighty naturally result in their regarding ʾAllāh as a compassionate God, and at the same time as an awful avenger and strict judge.⁴ There are numerous sayings, proverbs, songs, and stories portraying these two antagonistic characteristics. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose with Curtiss⁵ that the Palestinians think of God only with fear and trembling and that they do not regard him also as good and gracious.⁶ The expressions "Be with God and do not mind (anything which may happen)"⁷; "God is with the weak to make the rich think and consider"⁸ and "Be born: I shall be the supporter of your father"⁹, are typical of their attitude. The last is believed to be said by the Almighty at the birth of a girl, who, knowing the pitiful prospect awaiting her, tries not to be born. It is just here that the great difference lies between the attributes of God and those of the other minor supernatural powers. Demons are dreaded because they only injure the human race. The spirits of the saints occupy an intermediate place between God and the demons. They are feared but they are also honoured. They are not so compassionate as the Creator, but neither are they so malevolent as the *djinn*. Saints themselves are divided into *aḥmadīyeh* (forebearing) and *ʾaʿdjām* (irritable). The former are nearer to God. The latter share characteristics with the demons. There is a proverb which teaches, *eš-šakwā laḡhēr ʾallāh maḡalleh*, "Complaint to any one but God is weakness". Some nomads such as the Bdūl of

¹ Gen. 28¹⁰ ff; Ex. 19¹⁵⁻¹⁶; 1 Sam. 21⁵; Qorān 11¹⁸⁸.

² Contrast CURTISS (German edition): „Der heutige Semit hat keine sittliche Anschauung von Gott als den Heiligen, den Gerechten“.

³ Ex. 4²¹; 9¹²; 10^{20, 27}; 1 Sam. 16¹⁴⁻¹⁶; 18¹⁰; 2 Sam. 24¹; Jes. 6⁹ ff; Amos 3⁶.

⁴ Fear of God is witnessed in Gen. 28¹⁶ ff., Ex. 19¹⁶; 1 Sam. 21⁵; „God as a compassionate father and a good shepherd is portrayed in Ps. 23; 78⁵²; 80¹; Jes. 40¹; Jer. 31¹⁰; Ez. 34¹¹⁻¹⁹; etc. ⁵ l. c. pp. 63 ff.

⁶ See also DALMAN, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJ, XIII, 15 ff.

⁷ *Kūn maʿ ʾallāh walā thālī*. Another proverb is *kūn maʿ ʾallāh tarā ʾallāh maʿdk*, "Be with God and you will see that God is with you."

⁸ *ʾAllāh maʿ el-faḡīr tayiʿtbir el-ghani*.

⁹ *ʾInzali ʾand muʿīn abūki*. At the birth of a boy God is supposed to say *inzal int muʿīn ʾabūk*, "Descend: you must be your father's helper"; CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition*, JPOS, vol. VII, 163.

Petra¹, who know very little of religion fear Him much more than they love Him.² This is also more or less true of all Bedouin. Thus, for example, the Bedouin of the Beer-Sheba district, who are Moslems, do not even know the first *sūreh* of the Qorʾān. ʿĀRIF EL-ʿĀRIF³ has mentioned the following formulae which the Bedouin believe to be *sūret el-fātiḥah*: *fātiḥah tihlik fātiḥah tiblik ufātiḥah tzīḥ ʿannak djannāt en-naʿīm*, "There is a *fātiḥah* which condemns, a *fātiḥah* which ruins and a *fātiḥah* which takes away from you the gardens of happiness (the paradise)"; *el-fātiḥah laz-zād waṣḥābuh ulan-nabī waḥbābuh*, "the *fātiḥah* is for food and its owners and for the prophet and his friends."

It is important to call attention to the fact that Moslem peasants do not address God as "father".⁴ This is a distinct characteristic of the Christian conception. But God is greater and higher than father, ruler, or king. A saint, on the other hand, is regarded and treated as father, leader, neighbour, ruler, or king. I have found one proverb, well-known to city dwellers and villagers, in which God is called "shepherd". Although there may be others which remain unknown to me, it is characteristic how seldom God is given this appellation. The proverb runs, *awlādak warāk urabbak yrʿāk*, "your children are (walking) behind you; may your Lord lead you (as a shepherd)".

Although most Christian and Mohammedan peasants may cite verses of the Bible or the Qorʾān, which describe the Almighty as king, there are only a few characteristic present-day folk sayings which make this comparison. The most important are the proper names *ʿAbd el-mālek* (the slave of the ruler) and *ʿAbd el-malek* (the servant of the king), where God is called directly "king." But there are several customs and Arabic terms which point indirectly to this old idea. As we shall see later the Palestinians still use, as the ancient Semitic nations used to do,⁵ many theophorous proper names, compounds with *ʿabd*. Such theophorous names, in which the word *ʿabd* precedes some name of God, are in themselves sufficient proof that the old idea of "God=King" is still known.

¹ CANAAN, *Studies in the Topographie and Folklore of Petra*, pp. 71ff.]

² NIELSEN, JPOS, XIII, 207. ³ *ʿAl-qaḍāʾu bain al-ʿarab*, p. 252.

⁴ DALMAN, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJ, XIII, 32, comes to the same conclusion.

⁵ W. R. SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, 1927, p. 68.

This is especially clear in the proper names *ʿAbdallāh*¹ (the slave of God) and, *ʿAbdrabbūh* (the servant of his Lord). In many folksongs the Palestinians call themselves "God's servants." The following is one example:

yā rabbī lēš hal-ghēbeh ʿakalnā ʿrūq el-ḥullēbeh
yā rabbī bill eš-šammūṭ iḥnā ʿabīdak bidnā nmūt²

O Lord, why this Thy absence? we have eaten the roots of the spurge!
 O Lord wet the spadix (of the plants); we thy servants are on the verge of dying!

The Palestinian still speaks of God as *rabb*, "Lord", a use which points also to the conception of God as king.³ His worshippers are spoken of as his slaves, servants, *ʿabīd* (pl. of *ʿabd*) and *ʿibād*. But God is not only the Lord of men; He is the Lord of the whole universe. Oaths and wide-spread sayings make trees, animals and stones speak of God as their *rabb*.

A beautiful song⁴ in which the use of *rabb* plays an important rôle is:

nimt ʿa-djanbī l-yamīn twakkalt ʿa-rabbī r-raḥīm
nimt ʿa-djanbī š-šamāl twakkalt ʿa-rabbī r-raḥmān
nimt ʿal-farš twakkalt ʿa-rabb el-ʿarš
nimt ʿa-zahrī twakkalt ʿalēk yā rabbī.

I slept on my right side and trusted in my compassionate Lord!
 I slept on my left side and trusted in my merciful Lord!
 I slept on the bedding and trusted on the Lord of the throne!
 I slept on my back and trusted in Thee, O my Lord!

Another custom pointing to the idea of God as king is the offering of the first-fruits of the fields and vineyards⁵ to God.⁶ It is the same custom as the paying of royal tithes,⁷ which were always regarded in the East as the sovereign's dues.

The Palestinians regard themselves also as the servants (*ʿabīd*, *ḥadam*, *maḥāsib*) of their saints. The clearest example is the proper

¹ Many Christians use the name *ʿAbd el-Masīh*, the servant of Christ. In Abyssinia we meet with the name *ʿAbd Maryam*.

² The complete song is given in *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 221.

³ W. R. SMITH, l. c. p. 68. *ʿIbād* comes from the same root as *ʿabd*.

⁴ Heard in Jerusalem.

⁵ CANAAN, *Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition*, JPOS, VIII, 138. Cf. Ex. 23^{16,19}; Lev. 2¹⁴; 23²⁰; Numb. 13²⁰; 18¹³; Deut. 26².

⁶ W. R. SMITH, l. c., p. 67.

⁷ 1 Sam. 8^{15,17}.

name *ʿAbd en-Nabī* and *ʿAbd er-rasūl*, "The slave of the Prophet". But many hold that it is unwise to call any one by these names, for we are the servants of God alone. The saints are never spoken of as *rabb*, but as *saiyd* and *mawlā*. The last expression is also used of God. The *ʾaqlāb* speak even of the *awliā* as their servants, *ḥadam*, as may be seen from the following praise of Aḥmad er-Rifāʿī:¹

*waṣaṭwatī zāharat fil-ḥāfiqaini waqad
taḥaqqaqal-amru annal-awliā ḥadamī*

"My power has appeared in east and west and
The fact that the *awliā* are my servants has become established"

*anā r-Rifāʿī ṭbūlī fis-samā ḍarabat
wal-arḍu fī qabḍatī wil-ʾawliā ḥadamī*¹

"I am the *Rifāʿī*. My drums have beaten in heaven,
Earth is in my grasp and the *awliā* are my servants."

The song used by Christian children in their rain-processions shows clearly how people call themselves servants of the saints (Bēt Djālā):²

*mār Inqūlā djinā lēk ṣuḥb el-maṭar dāḥil lēk
wiḥna l-yōm ʿabīdak muftāḥ es-ssamā fidak
 haiy imbū haiy imbū*³

We have come to you, St. Nicholas,

O stream of rain, I implore you!

We are today your servants, Heaven's key is in your hand!

Bring water, O bring water!

*ya ʾahl Badr innī maḥsūbkum*⁴ ʿabdun lakum fī aiye waqtin kān
ardjūkum titiḥdūnī sādatī innī ḍaʿifun artadji l-iḥsān

O people of Badr!⁵ I am your subordinate!

A slave to you at every time

I implore you take me under your protection, O my lords!

I am weak and (therefore) I beseech (nothing but your) alms.

Rarely some may call themselves the servant of an important and holy day, as is seen in the Christian name, *ʿAbd el-Ḥad*, "The slave of Sunday".

According to an old Mohammedan tradition,⁶ God has one

¹ Heard in Nāblus. ² CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 230.

³ This exclamation "*imbū*" is baby-talk all over Palestine for "water".

⁴ See JPOS XII, 270.

⁵ *Moh. Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 305 ff.

⁶ Qorʾān, VII, 179; XX, 8; LIX, 24.

hundred beautiful names, *asmāʾ ʾallāh el-ḥusnā*¹ of which however only 99 are known by men. The hundredth name is known only to God himself.² First and foremost the present inhabitants of Palestine address the Almighty as ʾAllāh.³ The early perambulating vendors of cakes, for instance, preface the praise of their goods by reciting some of the names of God. They are heard saying: "O Opener (giver of sustenance), O Omniscient, O Sustainer, O Merciful! Warm cakes with sesame seeds".⁴

The majority of the names of God constitute an important part of the compound names of persons and are used in connexion with the term *ʿabd*. Such names were used by Arabs of old. I will refer only to such appellations as are still in vogue. From the 39 proper names of this category 22 connect the word *ʿabd* with names of God which indicate attributes of help, love and mercy. Twelve describe divine attributes and only 5 point to power and revenge. This shows clearly the attitude of the Oriental towards his Creator. He is to the modern Oriental a compassionate and loving rather than an awful and revengeful god.

Like all his Semitic ancestors the Palestinian believes in the omnipotence of God. Everything comes from God, *kull šī min ʾAllāh*. Hardships like disease, lack of rain, death of a beloved person, and loss of riches are the chastisements of God. This idea is well expressed in the proverb ʾAllāh ḥalaq el-balā, "God created disease";⁵ *iftiqād ʾAllāh rahmeh*,⁶ "God's chastisements are a mercy"; ʾAllāh byuḍrub biʾid u-bitlaqqā biʾid, "God beats with one hand but

¹ In *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, p. 107, the number 19 is wrongly given instead of 99.

² In ʾArṭās it is said that the camel knows the hundredth name, but he will not say it.

³ The two names *ar-raḥīm* and *ar-rahmān* are never used in slaughtering, as supposed by DALMAN (PJ XIII, 20), for the adjective "most merciful" is contradictory to the act of killing.

⁴ *yā fattāḥ yā karīm yā razzāq yā raḥīm*. Those selling cactus figs shout *ʿala l-lāh edj-djabr yā ṣabr*, "Restoration (of our daily income depends upon) God, O cactus figs." (D. DUHM, *Der Gemüsemarkt von Jerusalem*, PJ, XVII, 63 ff.).

⁵ The whole of the proverb is ʾAllāh ḥalaq el-balā wit-tibb wid-dawā, "God created disease but also medicine and drugs". Cf. John 5¹⁴; 9^{2, 84}.

⁶ The literal translation is, "The visitation of God is a mercy". An oath runs "By the truth of the One who has allowed (lit. put) this difficulty and is able to remove it", *uḥaqq man waḍaʿ haš-šiddeh uqādir yrfaʿhā*, (Bēt Djālā).

helps with the other"; *ʾAllāh mā biyblī ḥattā ʾiʿin*, "God will not inflict (on any person) any difficulty without also helping (him)".¹ Therefore the Palestinian adds to any promises he makes, *in šāʾ ʾAllāh*, "If God permits"; and to his expectations *miḥl mā birīd ʾAllāh*, "as God wishes". Some even believe that a person is not to be blamed for his immoral character, for this also was decreed by God and nobody can change God's decisions. A proverb teaches, *ʾAllāh ḥalaq eš-šarr umā riḍṣṣeh*,² "God created the evil, but he does not like it". The decisions of God have been decreed from the beginning of the world and no person can escape his fate. Even the earth is said to declare in years of dearth, "God has not given me (any crops)".³

The whole life of a person, his success, his failure, his work, his joys, his worries and his misfortunes have been written by the finger of God on the skull of that person before his birth. This writing is represented by the zigzag sutures. An expression pointing to this idea is *maktūb bēn ʿenēh*, "It is written between his eyes". This idea is also expressed in the words of a peasant who has suffered a heavy blow, *hādī ktābī*, "this is my fate (lit. this is what my writing predicts)". In speaking of any impending danger the Palestinian prays *ʾAllāh lā ysmāh*, "My God not allow it!" *ʾAllāh lā yqadder*, "May God not decree it". The idea of God writing something with his own finger is an old Semitic one.⁴

God's radical decrees are unchangeable by any human being, but the Almighty may in His kindness and mercy efface the fate of a person, *ʾAllāh yimḥiḥ l-qadr bil-luṭf*,⁵ "May God in His kindness efface the decreed fate!" The following proverbs express God's power to do what He wishes, as He wishes, and at any time He

¹ Other sayings are: *illī bitkil ʿalā maulāh mā ḥāb radjāh*, "The person who depends on his Master will not be disappointed", *illī ʾAllāh maʿuḥ lā ṯḥāf ʿalēh*, "Do not be concerned about the person who is cared for by God."

² Heard in Dēr Ghassāneh.

³ The whole proverb is *el-arḍ in aṭʿamat bitqūl ʾand djiḇt win amḥalat bitqūl ʾAllāh mā ʾaṭʿanīš*, "The earth says when it yields a good harvest, 'I produced (all) these fruits', but if it is smitten with dearth it says, 'God has not given!'" JPOS, VIII, 137, 138. This saying characterizes people who boast of the few good deeds they pretend to have done.

⁴ In Deut. 9¹⁰; Ex. 31¹⁸; 32¹⁶.

⁵ This short prayer is ejaculated at time of difficulty.

chooses: *ʾAllāh mahūl byāḥud ʿaṭūl*, "God is awful; He punishes all the way through"; *in aṭā mā biminn win ʾaḥad mā biḥinn*, "If He gives He does not reproach (for the gifts given) and if He takes he does not have mercy"; *in aṭā bidhiš win ʾaḥad bifattiš*, "If He gives He bewilders (i. e. His gifts are overwhelming) but if He takes He searches (one for the last thing he has)".¹

God's decrees can often not be understood. Thus He may give many gifts to the wicked or to those who do not need any help, while He withholds everything from the good who deserve more. Or in punishing the wicked God may afflict at the same time the pious and innocent. This idea is well expressed in the proverb, *in saḥaṭ*² (*ghidib*) *ʾAllāh ʿalā qōm djaʿal waliyhum qird*, "If God gets angry with a nation He changes even their saint into a devil"³ (Jerusalem); *ʾAllāh be-yaṭī l-qarʿah wimm kabbāš ubiḥallī banāt en-nās balāš*, "God gives the bald-headed woman and that with a bush of dishevelled hair, but leaves the daughters of better classes without any gift (hair)". Bald-headed women and those with dishevelled hair are despised by the Palestinian. *ʾAllāh bi-yaṭī dj-djōz lallī malōš snān*,⁴ "God gives the nuts to those who have no teeth"; *ʾAllāh bi-yaṭī l-ḥalāweh lallī malōš snān yākulhā*, "God gives sweet(s) to those who have no teeth to eat it". *ʾAllāh byōḥid eṭ-ṭāy fī danb el-ʿāšī*,⁵ God takes (punishes) the obedient servant for the transgression of the rebel"⁶.

Despite this fatalistic belief in one's own future and destiny, the Palestinian Mohammedan and Christian – tries to overcome these difficulties. As no one knows "his hour" of death (*sāṭuh*) duty obliges him to do all he can to escape his decreed fate. He asks the saints to help him escape a difficulty, cure a sick member of

¹ Another expression is *in aṭʿam biṭʿam min baqarah win aḥram biḥrim min ʿaṣarah*, "If He feeds He feeds from one cow (i. e. He makes the milk of one cow to suffice for all needs) but if He withholds ten cows will not suffice".

² *Saḥaṭ* (to curse) is used often in the sense of changing a person or an animal to an inferior object.

³ For the explanation of *qird*, "devil" see CANAAN, *Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel*, p. 15.

⁴ BAUMANN, *Volkswisheit aus Palästina*, ZDPV, XXXIX, No. 125.

⁵ A variation is *idjir eṭ-ṭāy maʿ idjir el-ʿāšī*. Another proverb with the same meaning is *ʾallāh biyaṭī rizquh laʾandjas ḥalquh*, "God gives His goods to the worst of His creation", ZDPV, XXXIX, No. 126.

⁶ Dēr Ghassāneh.

the family, bring an absent son back well, cause an undertaking to prosper, etc. He vows to the holy man one or several offerings. The Palestinian is sure that the *awliā* will intercede for him.¹

The omnipresence of the Almighty is another fundamental belief of every Palestinian. Therefore His name is called in every place and at every time. God is always ready to answer. His name drives away evil spirits,² helps in time of difficulty and strengthens when worries oppress one.³

The Palestinian will begin no work, however unimportant it may be, without stating first that it is in the name of God, *bisammī*.⁴ In the name of God the peasant begins the ploughing of his fields, the sowing of the seed, the putting of the sickle to the ripe harvest, the loading of the animals with sheaves, the disposal of the latter on the threshing floor and the threshing and winnowing. And in the name of God his wife grinds grain, measures flour, kneads dough, divides it into loaves, bakes bread, plants vegetables, washes her children, cooks food and serves it to her family.⁵ Christians use, besides *bism illāh*, the following invocations:

| | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>bism el-ʿadrā</i> , | "In the name of the Virgin!" |
| <i>bism sittnā Mariam</i> , | "In the name of our lady Mary!" |
| <i>bism eṣ-ṣalīb el-ḥaiy</i> , | "In the name of the living cross!" |
| <i>yā ʿadrā</i> | "O Virgin!" |
| <i>yāmm-en-nūr</i> , | "O Mother of Light!" |

The Mohammedans inscribe the name of God, *Allāh*, that of the prophet or a verse of the Qorʾān over the door-lintel.⁶ Christians make use of the sign of the cross. The sign of the cross is made every evening on the top of the heap of threshed and winnowed

¹ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 279.

² *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 8, 47, 50.

³ Gen. 4²⁶; 12⁹; Ps. 105¹; Jes. 12⁴; Acts 4¹²; Rev. 3¹²; Job 14¹⁵; Ps. 4¹; 50¹⁸; Jes. 58⁹; Joel 2³².

⁴ CANAAN, *Plant-lore in Palestinian Superstition*, JPOS, VIII, 155; L. EINSLER, *Mosaik*, p. 1. According to ʿABD EL-MEDJID ʿALĪ, *at-tuḥṣah al-marḍīyah fil-aḥbār al-qudsīyah wal-aḥādīṭ an-nabawīyah wal-aqāid at-tawḥīdīyah wal-ḥikāyāt as-sāmiyah wal-aʿār el-marḍīyah*, p. 6, the prophet Mohammed opened the closed doors of paradise with the words "*bism allāh er-raḥmān er-raḥīm*". This sentence is said to be inscribed on the source of each of the four rivers of paradise.

⁵ A. M. RIHBANY, *The Syrian Christ*, pp. 197-198.

⁶ CANAAN, *The Palestinian Arab House*, p. 87.

corn as long as it remains on the threshing floor. Such a heap is called *ṣalibi*. The sign of the cross is also made over the flour and the dough. It is painted or engraved over the door-lintel. SONNEN describes the custom of making on a heap of corn the impression of a seal bearing the words *barket ʿallāh*, "The blessing of God."¹

Thus we see that the blessing of God, of His name, or that of a holy symbol, assures success and the absence of all the powers of the inferior world. But the holy name should never be uttered in unclean places (like privies)² or during the performance of unclean actions (urination or defecation).³ The Tarābīn Bedouin of the Sinai peninsula tell the following story to prove the blessing following the invocation of the name of God. Two Bedouin who sowed a large piece of land in company came at the end of the work to divide the grain which was heaped on the threshing floor into two equal parts. While the first heap was divided into two equal parts without invoking first the name of God, the second was divided in the same way after this important precaution was taken. Behold, the part of each one of them in the second heap was decidedly greater than the respective part of the first heap, although both heaps were equally large and each one of them was harvested from a piece of land as large as that of the other.⁴

The many exclamations connected with the name of God and used in so many phases of the daily life of the Palestinian were originally in no way intended to be a misuse of the name of the Almighty, but a continuous invocation for help, protection, and support.⁵ In all his difficulties the Oriental always calls upon his heavenly Father and generally also upon his earthly father and mother.⁶ It is true that with time this beautiful custom has lost much of its

¹ *Biblica*, 1927, p. 201.

² SNOUCK HURGRONJE, *Mekka* II, p. 40 (after J. PEDERSON, 72).

³ Conjugal life is regarded as a holy performance, and the name of God should therefore be uttered before it is done. Some even believe that a bridegroom should say a prayer before he approaches his bride (ʿĒn Kārim). Should a person neglect this precaution a male *djinn* may precede him, and the born child becomes a *ṣaḡi* (rogue).

⁴ Heard in Beer-Sheba.

⁵ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints*, p. 279; *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 8, 106; DALMAN, *Der palästinische Islam*, PJ, XIII, 21 ff.

⁶ Under such conditions the Palestinian — even the aged one — is heard calling *yā baiyī*, *yāmmā*! See also Math. 26³⁷⁻³⁸; Luk. 22⁴⁴.

lofty meaning and the name of the Almighty is often used very carelessly.

Let us now examine the different exclamations connected with the name of God for their real and original intentions. While the European expresses his good wishes with the words "I hope you will succeed, recover, have a good time"¹ and the like, the Palestinian knows that his hopes and wishes can attain nothing. He therefore implores the Almighty to grant prosperity, recovery or a good time. The first emphasizes "I hope", the second on the other hand "May God grant". On enquiring about the health of a person one receives the answer *ʾAllāh ysallmak ʾaḥsan*, "May God keep you healthy he is better"; *el-ḥamdu lil-lāh inšallāh ʾaḥsan*, "Thanks be to God, if God wills, he is better".

The same is true of greetings. The Oriental asks the Almighty to grant the greeted person peace, health, a prosperous day (morning, evening, night), etc. Often the name of the Almighty is omitted in the formula, but it is always understood.²

The most important and most beautiful greeting is that already used by all Semitic nations and which is often mentioned in the Bible, namely, *es-salām ʿalēkum*, "Peace be with you!" The answer is *waʿalēkum es-salām waraḥmat ʾAllāh wabarakātuh*, "And peace be with you, as well as God's blessings and His mercy!"³ After enjoying the hospitality of the host the guest says *ʾAllāh yḥlif ʿalēk*, "May God repay it to you (i.e., increase your riches and thus your hospitality)"! The host answers *ṣaḥḥtēn wʿāfiyeh*, "(May it be to you) twice health and wellbeing"! After drinking coffee the guest says, *dāymeh*, "May it (your coffee, i.e. your hospitality) continue!"⁴ Those who go to their work before sunrise⁵ are heard singing:⁶

¹ RIHBANY, l.c. Ex. 20⁷; Math. 7²¹; Luk. 6⁴⁶.

² Some greetings are: *ʾAllāh yṣabbihkum bil-ḥēr*, "May God give you a prosperous morning". The answer is *yā ṣabāḥ el-ḥēr*, "O prosperous morning that has come!" *ʾAllāh yṣʿid ṣabāḥkum*, "May God render your morning to be prosperous"! *ʾAllāh yaʿṣiḥum eʿl-ʿāfiyeh*, "May God give you health (and strength)!" This is said in greeting workers. The answer is *wil-qāyl*, "And to the greeter (lit. sayer)!" ³ 1 Sam. 25⁶; Jes. 57¹⁹; Luk. 2¹⁴; 10⁵; 24⁴⁶.

⁴ *Dāymeh* should not be said in visits of condolence.

⁵ This song is not only used when the peasants go to the harvest (DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte*, 1, 2, p. 572) but also in the case of any work which is begun before sunrise. ⁶ ʿĒn Kārim.

yā ṣabāḥ el-ḥēr dāym
ṣabbiḥ lī ʿĪsā u Mūsā

ṣabbiḥ lī mīn kān nāym
*fī ṣalāl el-Qudsi nāym*¹

O morning of blessing! May you always remain!

Give my morning greetings to those who are yet sleeping;

Give my morning greetings to Jesus and Moses,

Who are² sleeping in the shadow of Jerusalem!

All Oriental salutations are in fact short prayers.³ A person thanking another for any service received says *ʾAllāh ikattir ḥērak*!⁴ If a person has nothing to give a beggar he sends him away with the words *ʿala ʾAllāh*, "(May your sustenance be) on God"; *ʾAllāh yaʿṭik*, "May God give you".⁵

In time of need the Palestinian begs the Almighty in the most persuasive ways to grant his requests.⁶ Thus a mother asking God to cure her sick child implores, *ṣaḥḥidnī yāḥ*, "I beseech Thee to grant me my son as alms!" A barren woman whose prayers have been answered and is blessed with a son calls him "The begged one" (*ṣḥādeh*, *ṣiḥdeh*),⁷ "The restored one" (*djāber*, *djabr*, *djubrān*),⁸ "Bounty (= bestowed by God, *djūdeh*). When a person is maltreated by a tyrant or robber,⁹ and he can neither protect nor defend himself, he implores them with the words *daḥīl ʾAllāh*, *daḥīl rabbak* or *daḥīl dīnak*, "I take refuge in God", "I take refuge in your Lord", or "I take refuge in your religion". God and their religion being perhaps the only things which those people still respect. The following morning prayer is a beautiful example of submission to the Almighty:

¹ DALMAN, I.C., gives a variation.

² Singular in Arabic.

³ Whenever one passes the house of his godfather he greets it with the words, "Peace be upon you, O house of my godfather!" (*as-salām ʿalēk yā bēt ṣbīnī*). Some Mohammedans formerly refused to greet a Christian with *as-sālām ʿalēkum*, thinking that peace should be wished only to believers.

⁴ The new expression of thanking, *ʾaṣḥurak*, is a literal translation of the European expression "I thank you".

⁵ It is said that this consoling phrase should only then be used when one has really nothing to give (*Qalōniā*).

⁶ Luke 18.

⁷ CANAAN, *Die Neugeborenen in der palästinischen Volksitte, Neueste Nachrichten aus dem Morgenlande*, vol. 71, pp. 151 ff.

⁸ *Djibrīn* comes from جبرائيل.

⁹ The proverb says about such people: *mā barḥamak walā baḥalli ḥad yirḥamak walā baḥalli raḥmet ʾAllāh tinzal ʿalēk*, "I shall not pity you nor shall I allow anybody to have pity with you, nor shall I allow God's pity to descend upon you".

*aṣbah eṣ-ṣabāh aṣbah nūr saiydnā Moḥammed ulāh
yā rabbi tidjal lal-qalb el-ḥazīn muftāh*

The morning has begun

The light of our lord Mohammed has appeared and shone!

O my Lord (I beseech thee), give to the broken heart a key
(of comfort and help)!

Swearing by the name of God has always been considered as the most sacred and solemn affirmation of a statement. While using such language the peasant never intends to misuse the name of the Almighty. He simply calls God to witness that what has been said is the whole truth.¹ The use of such a solemn affirmation is a very old custom.² Swearing, however, has now lost a great deal of its sacred character, so much so, that a proverb says *ḥudlak hal-yamīn miṭl waraq et-tīn iṣī mšarram wiṣī bald tašrīm*, "Take this oath, which is like the leaves of a fig tree, some are torn (in pieces) and others are without tears".³

The formulae used belong to one of the following categories:⁴

1. The name or an appellation of God, that of a *well* or of a sanctuary are connected with the oath.
2. The *yamīn* or *qasam* (oath) mentions some natural phenomenon or a part of the human body.

As the second category does not concern us at present we shall only examine those of the first kind. Some formulae with the name of God are *wallāh*, "By God"; *wiḥyāt ʾAllāh*, "By the life of God"; *wallāh el-aʿẓīm*, "By God the Great"; *wallāh umā aʿazz min ʾAllāh*, "By God and there is no one more powerful than He"; *urabb el-ʿizz*, "By the Lord of power"; *urabb ʿĪsā u Mūsā*, "By the Lord of Jesus and Moses"; *urabb el-kuḥbeh*, "By the Lord of the Kaḥbeh"; *urabb el-ins wiḍj-djinn*, "By the Lord of men and demons"; *urabb es-samā wil-ard*, "By the Lord of heaven and

¹ RIHBANY, l.c., 167. ² Gen. 21²⁸; 22¹⁶; Rom. 9¹; 12¹.

³ These conditions prevailed in Biblical times and led to the injunction of Jesus: "I say unto you swear not at all, neither by heaven, for it is God's throne, nor by the earth, for it is His footstool; neither by Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. Neither shall thou swear by thy head, because thou canst not make one hair white or black". Math. 5,³⁴⁻³⁶ Jam. 5¹², Ex. 20⁷; Lev. 19¹².

⁴ *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 126.

earth"; *wiḥyāt hal-ʿūd wir-rabb el-maʿbūd*,¹ "By the life of this stick and the adored God"; *wallāh wiḥyāt hal-ghēt ed-dāridj min es-samā*, "By God and the life of this rain which pours from heaven";² *uḍinī uḥimānī*, "By my religion and belief"; *uḍinī umaʿbūdī*, "By my religion and my adored One (God)".

The saints play an important rôle in oaths. In some districts, especially among the Bedouin, *awliā* are even more often mentioned than God. Only a few characteristic oaths of this category will be mentioned:³ *uḥaqq el-Ḥaḍr el-aḥḍar*, "By the truth of St. George"; *wallāh wiḥyāt ibn Saʿīd*, "By God and the life of Ibn Saʿīd";⁴ *udjāh en-nabī Mūsā*, "By the honour of the prophet Moses"; *uḥyāt Ḥmēd fakkāk el-ʿabīd⁵ min el-ḥadīd*,⁶ "By the life of Ḥmēd, the releaser of slaves from iron (fetter)".⁷ When a Bedouin brings his case to a Bedouin judge, he addresses him with the words *wēš ʿindak yā qāḍī l-ʿarab yā fakkāk en-naṣab⁸ djitak ṣaddi⁹ baḥki djaddi ḥazzī uḥazzak yudḥul ʿarabāḥ warbʿin nabī in kāmēt¹⁰ (i)ṭḍurrak win ḥakēt (i)tsirrak . . .*,¹¹ "What do you have (to say), O judge of the Arabs, O you who (judge and) reveal (the truth) in a case of money. I have come to you, speaking very earnestly. My luck and your luck

¹ Many add, *wis-saiyḍ Dāḥūd*, "And the lord David". When a Bedouin gives a witness before a Bedouin judge he addresses him, *wiḥyāt hal-ʿūd wir-rabb el-maʿbūd will-kāḍib māluḥ malūd (= maulūd) lā ṭamaʿ rādjiḥ walā ghēz ṣāfiḥ illa ḥaqq ʿAllāh min raḡbati maddiḥ (= muʿaddiḥ) in ḥāḍā r-rādjiḥ . . .*, "By the life of this stick and the adored God—and the liar shall have no children—(I give this witness) not driven by any ambition, nor to satisfy any grudge, but I give only the truth (which I owe to God), this man..." See also BÜLUS SAIYÜR EL-BÜLUSİ, *ʿawāʾidu l-ʿarab*, p. 143; JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 191.

² The last three oaths combine the name of the Almighty with some natural phenomena.

³ For further description of oaths see CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 125 ff.

⁴ Ibn Saʿīd is Msallam ibn Saʿīd of the ʿAzāzmeh Bedouin.

⁵ Ḥmēd has his sanctuary to the south of ʿAqabah, on the seashore. He is said to have once released the prisoners of ʿAqabah. Ḥmēd is honoured by most Bedouin of the Negeb.

⁶ Another oath describes this saint as the protector of raids (*ghazū*): *wiḥyāt Ḥmēd ʿāḍid el-moḥramāt*, "By the life of Ḥmēd, protector in raids".

⁷ Some of these oaths are taken from ʿARIF EL-ʿARIF, l.c., p. 72.

⁸ See *Muḥīt*, p. 2073. It is explained as العتادو المال الاصيل والناطق والصامت.

⁹ *Muḥīt*, p. 1173.

¹⁰ *Muḥīt*, p. 1844.

¹¹ The rest of the text is of no importance for our subject.

lie under the protection of forty-four prophets. If you hide (the truth) they (the 44 prophets) will injure you and if you speak the truth they will repay you with joy....,"¹ No mention of God whatever is made in this speech.

Among vows connected with a holy object or a sanctuary we may mention: *wil-maṣḥaf*, "By the Qor'ān"; *wil-indjil eṭ-ṭāher*, "By the pure New Testament"; *wil-ka'beh*, "By the Ka'beh"; *uqabr el-ḥalās*, "By the tomb of Salvation"; *wiṣ-ṣaḥrah eṣ-ṣarīfeh*, "By the holy rock (of the Mosque of Omar)"; *wiḥyāt has-sēf wil-maṣḥaf* (Bedouin), "By the life of this sword and the Qor'ān".

The same considerations are true of curses:² Every Oriental likes to avenge himself for every injustice he receives. But if he is too weak to take his own *tār*, he turns to his almighty Creator, who is the greatest avenger.³ He implores him to punish his enemies, whom he regards at the same time as God's enemies. The formulæ used are nearly the same as those once used by his forefathers, the ancient Semites.⁴

All these usages illustrate the fact that the manner of speech of the Oriental is that of a simple person who has not yet been spoiled by so-called civilization. Life with all its activities, its joys, and its cares revolves around one center and one only, namely God, who has always been and still is regarded as the all in all, *min ʾAllāh*, *ʿalā ʾAllāh*, *la ʾAllāh*, "from God, to God, for God!".

Thus the name of God, *ʾAllāh*, is invoked in every place and on every occasion. Therefore, the Mohaminedans recite their prayers not only in a mosque or sanctuary, but wherever they happen to be. Nevertheless there are certain places and days or parts of days which are considered more acceptable to God when prayers are made. Prayer in the sanctuary of an important *welī* is thought to be more quickly answered. A request made in *lélatu l-qadr*⁵ is better heard, since the doors of heaven are believed to be open on that night.⁶

¹ BŪLUS SAİYŪR ʿEL-BŪLUSĪ, l.c., p. 140. See also JAUSSEN, *Coutumes des Arabes*, p. 190.

² The present writer expects to write a special paper on this subject.

³ Deut. 32⁸⁹; 1 Sam. 2⁶; Job 5¹⁸; Rom. 12¹⁹.

⁴ Ps. 59¹⁵; 69²²⁻²⁵, 28.

⁵ *Lélatu l-qadr* is supposed to be the 27th of Ramaḍān.

⁶ Whenever a person dies the doors of heaven are also supposed to open, while the angels descend and ascend.

Other favourable days for prayer are,¹ the month of Ramaḍān,² the day of ʿArāfāt, the fourteenth of Šaʿbān, and the eve of Friday, i.e. the night between Thursday and Friday. Favourable hours of the day are midnight, the time for calling the morning³ and noon prayers, especially the Friday midday prayer.⁴ A mother whose child is dangerously ill will go up at midnight to the roof of her house and implore the Almighty for the recovery of her son. Then her prayer will be carried quickly by the angels, who fill the air at this hour.⁵

This characteristic—omnipresence—is also an attribute of the important *awliā*, the *anbiā* and the *ʾaqlāb*. Thus it is believed that whenever and wherever they are invoked they answer the call. A person in Jerusalem may call upon Abraham, who is buried in Hebron. *En-nabī* Dāhūd, whose tomb is in Jerusalem, helps a person calling upon him from Nāblus and *en-nabī* Mūsā, whose shrine lies southwest of Jericho, responds to prayers of the *ʿIdwān* Bedouin of Transjordan. Nevertheless, experience has shown that these *awliā* will answer more promptly if the person calling upon one of them goes to their sanctuary or calls upon them during the *mōsam*. An exception to this rule is made by el-Ḥaḍr, the prophet Mohammed, *sittnā* Mariam, *mār* Miḥāyil⁶ and, to a certain extent, the four *ʾaqlāb*,

¹ See MOHAMMED ES-SAFĀRĪNĪ, *kitāb ghidāʾu l-ʾalbāb liṣarḥ manẓūmati l-ʾādāb*, vol. II. p. 424.

² There is, according to es-SAMARQANDĪ, around the throne of the Almighty a plain, *mardj*, called *ḥaḍīratu l-quḍs*, which is full of angels who are continually praying. On the first day of Ramaḍān they ask God to descend to earth to pray the *tāḥāwūt* with the multitude of believers. Every one who happens to touch or who is touched by any one of them becomes lucky and prosperous all his life.

³ Mohammedans of Syria believe that God sends his angels every morning to distribute human necessities and to bless what they have. Such a blessing is granted only to those who rise early to work (ZDPV, VII, 100). For a similar belief connected with the time of sunset see below.

⁴ Such a time is specially favourable for making amulets (*Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, p. 51), performing magic acts (l.c., p. 67) and for children receiving the blessing of the angels which fill the air at such an hour. Syrian mothers will at such an hour not carry their children but place them on the ground in order to assure the blessing (ZDPV, VII, 89).

⁵ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 138, 139.

⁶ This belief in *mār* Miḥāyil is not wide spread.

who are omnipresent. A saying compares a person seen within a short time at different places with el-Ḥaḍr and *mār Miḥāyil*: *intī miḥāyil el-Ḥaḍr fī kull maṭraḥ ḥāḍir*, "You are like St. George, who is present in every place"¹; *intī miḥāyil mār Miḥāyil ḥāḍir nāzer*, "You are like St. Michael, who is (always) present and sees everything". The minor *awliā* are believed, on the other hand, to have and practice their authority, and influence at their residence, where their followers live.

In this connexion we often meet with a practice which is surely a vestige of the primitive religion of the Semites.² A peasant on a journey or living in a strange country will in time of need invoke one of the different *awliā* of his own village or of his own district, for such a saint is his own saint, his protector, who is responsible for his own welfare. The saints of the foreign country do not know him and will not recognize him as one of their clients. The writer knows of several cases where Palestinians, living in America, when severely sick invoked a *welī* of their own village, vowing at the same time a sum of money for the repair of the shrine or for distribution in his name to the poor.

This deeply rooted belief in the saints is carried to extremes in certain cases. When heaven withholds its blessing (*raḥmeh*) the peasants arrange for rain processions in which God and the saints are asked to help. Some processions are composed only of children. A bird is released in order to carry the prayers of the multitude to heaven.³ The saints are also called upon to bless, protect, and help. Thus brush-wood, lime, grain, straw, etc. may be safely deposited in or around their shrines. Nobody dares to steal anything, for the saints protect the object entrusted to their care. Children are often circumcised in a sanctuary. A part of the bridegroom's festival procession must visit a shrine in many villages.⁴ The *ḍbiḥet el-ʿaqd*, in some places also *ḍbiḥet el-ʿasās*,⁵ as well as the animal killed on finishing the harvest, are killed in the name of Abraham. The protector of the threshing floor is thought in some villages to be

¹ See also HANAUER, *Tales told in Palestine*, pp. 82 ff.

² W. R. SMITH, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*, pp. 28 ff.

³ DALMAN, PJ, XIII, 17.

⁴ Seen in ʿAnātā.

⁵ ʿEn Kārim, Qalōniā, and Šarāfāt. In most places it is for the *djinn* inhabiting the place, see CANAAN, *The Palestinian Arab House*, p. 86.

Abû Hureirah.¹ A man who has a large flock of sheep or goats cuts the ear of the first-born lamb in the name of Abraham, hoping that this man of God will protect the whole flock. If he is very rich he may also dedicate the last-born lamb of that year to this saint. In measuring grain, the eleventh *ṣāʿ*² is dedicated to the prophet Mohammed, *el-ḥādī lan-nabī*, and the last measure belongs to Abraham. This is also distributed among the poor. More vows are made to the saints than to God.³

Another fundamental religious belief of the Oriental is the boundless mercy of God. *Aiy intī aḥann ʿalēh min illī ḥalaquh*, "Are you more compassionate with him (i.e., your son) than God, who created him?" is a widely known saying. When a mother nurses her sick child day and night her neighbours reproach her for not trusting sufficiently in God and say: "I came (i.e. God) to pity him, but found his parents embracing him (continually)"⁴. A beautiful saying teaches that *illī ḥaṭṭ biṣīl willī balā biʿīn*,⁵ "The one who has imposed (these difficulties) will remove (them); and the one who has afflicted will help!" In years of lack of rain people comfort themselves with the words, "God is more kind to his people (than they are to themselves)".⁶

A man who tries to bear not only his own burdens but also those of others is reproached with the words, "Leave something for God (to care for)",⁷ and "God is with his broken-hearted worshippers."⁸ A proverb teaches, "I propose (lit. think) and God disposes (arranges), for God is able to do everything."⁹ Another saying is "Purify your intentions and (have no fear to) sleep in

¹ DALMAN, PJ, XIII, p. 18. A peasant of ʿĒn Kārim assured me that the workers will call upon Abû Hureirah if there is no wind during the winnowing.

² Not *sāʿ*, as wrongly printed in JPOS, VIII, 155, N. 6.

³ Most of these items were fully described in *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries in Palestine*.

⁴ *Djīt la-ʾaṣfaq ʿalēh laqētuh fī ḥuẓn wāldēh*.

⁵ A variation of this proverb was mentioned above.

⁶ ʾAllāh alṭaf fī ʿibāduh.

⁷ The complete proverb is *lēš ḥāmīl es-sullam bil-ʿarḍ ḥallī la-ʿAllāh sī*, "Why are you carrying the ladder transversely (i.e. carrying all the difficulties in the wrong way), leave something to God (to care for)!"

⁸ ʾAllāh maʿ ʿibāduh el-munkisrīn.

⁹ *And bit-tafkīr wallāh bit-tadbīr inn ʾAllāh ʿald kull šayʾin qadīr*.

the wilderness, for God's resolution is stronger than any other one".¹

Several proper names which are much used refer directly to the mercy, the goodness, and the love of God.² The names of God inscribed on the talisman, known as the *māskeh*,³ ascribe the same attributes to the heavenly Father. These are *yā hāfiẓ*, O Protector; *yā šāfi*, O Healer; *yā kāfi*, O Sufficient One; *yā ʾamīn*, O Faithful. The mother does not know a better way of protecting her child when it falls, is frightened, or has any ailment, than by asking the Almighty to "surround" it with his mercy. "I encircle you with God ('s name and mercy)."⁴ Many Palestinians will not fail to put themselves under the protection of the Almighty every evening before going to bed, with the words⁵ "We have closed (the doors of) our house and God is our (protecting) talisman. May God have mercy on our mother and father."⁶ A few lines of an evening prayer run:⁷

*yā rabbī ṭhannan ʿalaiy wiḍʿal bēnī waʿdāi ḥḍjāb
ubahr nadjdjāb*⁸ *wisyūf tilmaʿ wiḥḍjār tišqaʿ*⁹

"O my Lord have mercy upon me and place between me and my enemies a talisman and a large sea and glittering swords and violently thrown stones." A proverb describing the charms of a short wife is *ḥawaṭṭik birabb el-ʿars yā lūlī malān el-farš*, "I encircle you with the Lord of the Throne, O pearls filling my bed." The following prayer repeated by Mohamedans before retiring at night conveys the same idea:

¹ *Šaffī n-niyeh unām fil-barrīyeh uniyet ʾAllāh biḡhlib kull niyeh.*

² Such are *Raḥmetallāh*, The mercy of God; *Djādallāh*, God's generosity; *Ḥerallāh*, God's goodness; *Habīballāh*, The one beloved by God; *ʿAtī-ʾallāh*, The gift of God; *ʿŌnallāh*, The help of God; *Niʿmetallāh*, The grace of God; *Saʿdallāh*, Fortune given by God; *Rizqallāh*, Sustenance given by God; *Lutfallāh*, Kindness of God; *Nūrallāh*, Light of God; *Djārallāh*, The neighbour of God; *ʿŌdetallāh*, (contracted by the Bedouin into *ʿŌṭallāh*), The gift (lit. the returned child) of God; *Ḥamdallāh*, The praise of God; *Faradjallāh*, The comfort (relief) of God; *ʿAwaḍallāh*, The compensation of God.

³ *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 52, 91.

⁴ *Ḥawwaṭṭak bal-llah.*

⁵ CANAAN, *The Palestinian Arab House*, p. 96.

⁶ *Sakkarnā dārna wallāh ḥḍjābnā uraḥmet ʾAllāh ʿalli djābatnā udjābnā.*

⁷ Said generally in the eve of Friday. Heard in Jerusalem.

⁸ *Muḥīt*, (p. 2040) does not know this word, but *mandjūb* means **الآنّ الواسع** **شقّ الرجل لفلان اي سبه وتشاقع الرجلان تشامّا**.
⁹ *Muḥīt*, p. 1106, says **شقّ الرجل لفلان اي سبه وتشاقع الرجلان تشامّا**. In Lebanon it is used of throwing stones. In Palestine it means "to chatter".

I have encircled our house and family
 with the tablet¹ and the pen,²
 with the throne and what it bore,
 with the seven words said on the mountain by our master
 Mohammed.

(I beg Thee), do not allow any creeping animal to fall
 upon us,

nor a strange foot (= stranger),

nor a drinker of *‘araq*,

nor a drinker of wine,

until the sun arises³

and sings to the One, the Victorious, the Beloved.⁴

Besides God saints are also asked to “surround” children.

Thus a verse of a Christian cradle song runs:

yā djiret ‘Allāh yā mēmtī
witdjirī ‘asāmīhum
umiyeh warba’ta’sher qaddīs
yiḥfattalū ḥawatēhum.

“O neighbourhood of God – O my mother,

¹ Qor’ān, LXXXV, 12: “the original whereof is written on a tablet kept in heaven”. This tablet—called the preserved table—has been kept since the beginning of the world near the throne of God. In it are also recorded the divine decrees past and future; G. SALE, *The Qoran*, p. 50.

² The 68th Sūreh is called “The Pen”. Many think that the pen with which God’s decrees were written is to be understood.

³ As soon as the sun rises it drives away the spirits of the lower world; CANAAN, *Light and Darkness*, JPOS, XI, p. 34.

⁴ The Arabic text is:

ḥawwatṭ bēind udārnd
bil-lōḥ wil-qalam
ubil-‘ars umā ḥamal
ubi-sabi‘ kalīmāt illi qālhḍ saiyanḍ Muḥammad ‘adj-djabal
lā tnazzil dabībeh
walā idjr gharībeh
walā šarrāb ‘araq
walā šarrāb nabīḍi
illā mā ḥīkaṭ es-šams
undgḥṭ el-wāḥiḍ el-qahhār el-ḥabībī.

Another version says “ten words” instead of “seven” and makes the last line “and salutes the beloved prophet.” The first version was heard in Jerusalem, the second in Haifa.

mayest thou surround (lit. be the neighbour of) their names,
and may one hundred and fourteen saints
be (continually) turning around them.¹

God's mercy extends so far that He cares for all He has created. This idea is beautifully expressed in the words of the sower, *yā tārīm ed-dūd fil-hadjar edj-djalmūd*. "He leadeth the birds in the darkness of the night," *yā msaīyer eṭ-ṭēr fī ḡalām el-lēl*. His mercy goes still further. He allows animals, trees and stones to witness on the day of judgement in favour of human souls, in order that they may be saved.² Thus stones piled up by the pilgrim on his way to a sanctuary will remind the holy man in whose honour the *zyārah* (visit) was made to help and to intercede for the pilgrim.³ The idea of stones bearing witness was known in the ancient Orient.⁴ On the 10th of Muḥarram many peasants offer a hen or a cock as a ransom for their soul. Nobody should eat of this offering, which is called *ueṣīreh*, except the person on whose behalf it was offered. On the day of judgement this bird will flutter above his head, thus helping to protect his soul.⁵

God has created the whole universe and knows everything about the mountains, the sea, all plants, and all animals. This idea has suggested many Arabic idioms and proverbs. Thus the moon is called "God's moon"; *hall hlālak*, "Your new moon has appeared". Another expression has it, "The new moon of God has appeared and His majesty has appeared."⁶ The same is true of standing corn. A song begins *yā zrēc 'Allāh*, "O standing corn of God!"⁷ Proverbial expressions make plants praise God: *mā šāc 'Allāh ez-zar' bisabbih rabbuh*, "O how beautiful! the standing corn praises its lord";⁸ *subḥān ḥāliqhā*, "May its Creator be praised". A tree is supposed to say "I drink through my trunk and praise my lord" (*baṣrab min*

¹ Heard in Jerusalem.

² The Tarābīn Bedouin of the Negeb believe that even animals and vegetables must appear on the day of judgement before the throne of the Almighty. One plant may then accuse another, saying "it bent me so severely that I was hurt."

³ For the description of such stone-heaps see CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 74 ff.

⁴ Cf. Luke 19⁴⁰, Gen. 31⁴⁵ ff; Heb. 3¹¹.

⁵ Heard in Sarrīs. In other parts of Palestine all the members of the family may eat of the offering.

⁶ *Hall hlāl 'Allāh uhall djalāluh*.

⁷ DALMAN, *Haupt-Festschrift*, p. 387.

⁸ JPOS, VIII, 164.

(*irqī ubasabbih rabbī*). On another occasion it proclaims "I am sustained by the grace of my lord!" – *anā min niʿmet rabbī ʿāyš*. An oath runs *uḥaqq man yaʿlam kam waraqah ʿaḥaš-šadjarah ukam šarah fi hal-ḥaiwān*, "By the truth of the One who knows how many leaves are on this tree and how many hairs on this animal." The person uttering this oath points to a tree and to an animal.¹ Another oath says, *uḥaqq ʿuwēnet eš-šams el-mgharrbeh laṭāʿet rabbhā*, "By the truth of the disk² of the sun which is setting³ in obedience to (the rules of) its Lord!"⁴

Only proud and foolish people forget this holy duty. They are compared to the stiff handles of a clay brazier, *kull šī larabbuh byusdjūd illa qṛūn el-mōqadeh*, "Everything bows down to its lord except the handles of the clay brazier." *Ed-djādjeḥ btišrab ubtuškur rabbhā*, "The hen drinks and (in lifting up her head to heaven) thanks her lord;" *eṭ-tyūr bitsabbih rabbhā bil-lghāhin*, "The birds praise their lord by their chirping." The warbling of some birds is believed to be a continuous repetition of one of God's names. Thus some doves coo continually, *yā raʿūf yā raʿūf*, "O Merciful, O Merciful!", others *yā karīm yā karīm*, "O Gracious, O Gracious!" The cock is said to perform his devotions in the early morning while people are still asleep.

The deep-rooted belief in the relation between the Creator and His creation goes so far as to make the peasants think that the name of God, *ʾAllāh* or rather the first letter of the same, the *ʾ*, is inscribed on some fruits. Thus the longitudinal grooves on all

¹ *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 126.

² Lit. "small eye".

³ *El-mgharrbeh* may also be translated "going to the west". The last two oaths are used by Mohammedans and Christians.

⁴ Other oaths describing the Almighty's care for his creation as well as some of his activities are: *uḥaqq illi rafaʿ es-samā ubasaṭ el-arḍ*, "By the truth of the One who elevated heaven, and stretched the earth"; *uḥaqq man katab ʿalēh (ʿalal-ḥaṭab) bil-ḥariq*, "By the truth of the One who decreed that this wood is for burning"; *uḥaqq man dār el-ḥalāweh fi ḥaš-šadjarah*, "By the truth of the One who put sweetness into (the fruits of) this tree"; *uḥaqq man djamaʿnd min ghēr mīʿād*, "By the truth of the One who decreed that we should come together without any previous agreement (on our part)"; *wiḥyāt man qasam lak naṣīb fi haz-zād*, "By the life of the One who allotted you a share in this food"; *wiḥyāt illi ṣabagh el-ʿabd ulaiyan el-ḥadīd*, "By the life of the One who coloured the negro and made iron malleable".

grains of wheat¹ are said to be the 1 of ʾAllāh. Due to the holy name of God corn and bread enjoy a mystic sacred significance in Palestinian superstition. *Bēnnā ʿēs umilh*, "there is bread and salt between us"² means "there is a solemn covenant between us".³ It is further believed that wheat was the tree chosen by God to be the tree of knowledge of good and evil. Therefore corn and bread are highly respected by the peasants, being the greatest gift of God to mankind. One may even take an oath by bread, *wihyāt hal-ʿēs*, "By the life of this bread!"⁴

Even this does not represent the climax of the peasants' piety. Not only do the plants praise God, they even bow down in veneration before the throne of the Creator. On the night of *l̥elatul-qadr* the trees kneel in reverence because they may not look on the face of the Almighty. The Mohammedans believe that the gates of heaven open on this night, and the waters of the sea become sweet.⁵ Christians hold the same belief in regard to the olive tree on the feast of the Holy Cross (September 13th) and on Epiphany (January 6th). They also believe that unleavened dough will ferment without aid in this night.⁶ This is why some Christians believe that some mulberry wood must be burnt in the night of Epiphany, for this tree was the only plant which, owing to its pride, did not kneel down in veneration of the day.⁷ It is difficult to imagine a more poetic and pious conception.

The veneration of the Palestinian peasant and his gratitude to his Creator is beautifully expressed in the saying *mā binṭūl samāh binḥibb waṭāh*,⁸ "We cannot reach His heaven (to thank Him) there-

¹ I heard the following story about corn in ʿĒn Kārim. It seems to be known in the whole district of Jerusalem. As long as Adam was in paradise he was as pure as the angels and he did not need to defecate. Satan tempted him and gave him corn to eat. Through committing this sin he became in every way human. With this new unclean state he could not remain in paradise.

² RIHBANY, l. c., p. 191.

³ A proverb says *mā fī ṭaʿām illa baʿd el-kalām*, "No food can be taken, except after finishing our conversation", i. e. we can not partake of your food (of your bread and salt) and thus become bound in a covenant before settling our affairs (Gen. 24⁸⁹).

⁴ For further material on this subject see JPOS, VIII, 155 ff.

⁵ ZDPV, VII, 86.

⁶ Heard in Bēt Djālā, Bethlehem, ʿĒn Kārim.

⁷ In Northern Palestine and Syria. JPOS, XIII, 177.

⁸ Heard in Transjordan, known also in Palestine.

fore we kiss the earth (which is His footstool)."¹ Complete resignation to God could not be better expressed than in the words of a sick person, "They asked me: Shall we bring you a physician? I said it would not do. My God has wounded me and He will cure me. This is better and more profitable".² Another proverb describing God as physician is, "God touches the pulse (lit. the joint) and gives the proper medicine".³

Saints are also regarded as healing physicians. Thus the following stanza of a hymn of praise sung to the prophet calls Mohammed "physician":⁴

ʾAllāh ʾAllāh ʾAllāh ʾAllāh
yā Muḥammad yā ḥabībī
kun ṭabībī
waʾadjirnī min laḥībī
inna ʾawzārī ṭiqāl.⁵

"God, God, God, God, O Mohammed! O my beloved! Be my physician and save me from the fire. My sins are very heavy."

Although the present inhabitants of Palestine do not worship the heavenly bodies there are few practices and sayings which may point to this ancient custom.⁶ A song said at sunrise by the inhabitants of the villages south of Bethlehem is:

subḥān mān saiyarek
" " *daiyarek* (or *dauwarak*)
" " *ṣauwarek*
" " *rafaʿek ʿan el-ʿibād waʾanwarek*

¹ 1 Chr. 28²; Ps. 99⁵; 132⁷; Math. 5⁸⁵.

² *Qālū indjiblak imdāwi qult mā (i)ṣṣlaḥ rabbi djarahni urabbi ʾidāwīni ʾaḥyar waṣṣlaḥ*. Other proverbs of the same sublime type are: *lā tiḥkal ḥamm fōq rāsak rabb*, "Do not mind any anxiety for there is above your head a Lord"; *ʾAllāh mā biḥalli t-ṭarīḥ maṭrūḥ wala r-rāʿi balā ṣbūḥ*, "God does not leave the sick forsaken, nor the shepherd without a breakfast".

³ *Rabbnā biḥiss el-maṣṣal ubyaʿti ed-dawd*.

⁴ Heard in Nāblus.

⁵ The continuation of this song is:

kun ghadan yauma l-qaṣāṣi *yauma yuʾaḥadu bin-nawāṣi*
sāʿian fī ḥalāṣi *min ḥisābin waswāl*.

"Be tomorrow on the day of punishment, the day when (people) are taken by the hairs of the forelock, working for my salvation, from all my accounts and (the process of) enquiry!"

⁶ II Kg. 11¹²; 21^{3, 5}; 23⁵; Jer. 14¹³; Zeph. 1⁵.

May He be exalted who made you go!

" " " " " " " turn (from one direction to the
" " " " " shaped you! [other]!
" " " " " lifted you above his servants and made
you shine!

Another song runs:

eš-šams ummnâ wil-qamar abūnâ
unidjmet Shēl idillna 'alâ drūbnâ,

The sun is our mother, and the moon is our father¹

And the star Canopus shows us our ways.

A prayer uttered by the inhabitants of ḤArṭās in the forenoon, when the sun is already high in the sky is:

ed-ḡuḡā umīn ḡaḡāha wiš-šams umīn djalāha
wil-qamar umīn 'alāha² wil-maiy umīn djarrāha.

The forenoon—who made it? The sun (disk)—who polished it?

The moon—who lifted it? The water—who made it run?³

A married woman who lives far from her parents welcomes the rising moon with the words: *ahlan usahlan bimwannis⁴ el-gharībeh⁵*,

"Welcome O you who keeps company with the stranger".⁶

Every child is advised by his friends to throw a fallen tooth from between his legs towards the sun-disk with the words "Take, O sun, this donkey's tooth and give me a tooth of a gazelle".⁷

In welcoming the new moon Palestinians say *ihill ihlālak widjil-djalālak widjalak 'alēnâ šahr imbāarak*, "May your New Moon appear (like a crescent) and your might be high and may you be made a blessed month for us".⁸

Flowers and trees should be planted only while the moon is growing, else they will not prosper. It is widely believed that the sun drives away with its heavenly power all the powers of the lower world. This is why demons perform most of their actions

¹ "Sun" الشمس is feminine and "moon" القمر is masculine, in the Arabic language.

² As *el-qamar* is masc. the line should really be *wil-qamar umīn djalāh*.

³ The conjunction *wa* "and" has been left in the translation.

⁴ *Wannasa* is unknown to Muḥīt. ⁵ Heard in ḤArṭās.

⁶ A proverb says *inti miṭl el-qamar bitwannes mā btinfā'*, "You are like the moon, you keep company but you are of no other help."

⁷ CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition*, JPOS, VII, 175.

⁸ CANAAN, *Light and Darkness in Palestine Folklore*, JPOS, XI, p. 26.

in the darkness of the night. During daytime they can unfold their action only in places where the rays of the sun do not penetrate.¹

Several sayings known widely over the country illustrate how the Palestinians regard the heavenly bodies as living beings of supernatural powers. An oath runs *wihyāt uwēnit eš-šams*, "By the life of the sun-disk." The Bedouin of Bisān hold that the hour when Conopus (*suhēl*) appears is the most acceptable time for grayers (blessings, curses and oaths). Such an hour is called *sā'it suhēl*. An oath heard from a Ṣaqr Bedouin runs "By the life of the arising *suhēl*".

By no means do these examples point to a direct worship of the heavenly bodies. But they contain several points which may have had their origin in the ancient custom of solar worship.

Every human being is given at birth a protecting angel, *malāk*² *hūris*,³ who continually accompanies and protects him.⁴ When enquiry after the well-being of the children of a friend is made the following formula is used: "How are the protected ones?"⁵ i.e., those protected by their angels. Even every organ of the human body has its protecting angel.⁶ If we did not have those heavenly spirits the human race would have perished long ago. The angel accompanying man not only protects his body, but also his soul. Every human being has, according to Mohammedan belief, in addition to this guardian angel two spirits who continually accompany him. One sits on his right shoulder and the other on his left. One records his good deeds, the other his evil ones.⁷ Whenever a person commits an evil action the spirit recording his good acts requests the other to postpone the recording of the evil deed until the day is over, for thus argues the heavenly spirit: "This person may still ask God for forgiveness before the close of the day". This idea is

¹ See *Aberglaube, Dämonenglaube* and *Light and Darkness*.

² The description of the angels is given here only to show the relation of the different supernatural powers to each other.

³ CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Arab Superstition*, JPOS, VII, 166 ff.

⁴ CANAAN, *Palestinian Demonology*, *The Parents Review*, vol. XXXVII, p. 718. Math. 18¹⁰; Heb. 1¹⁴; Ps. 34⁸; 91¹¹.

⁵ *Kif el-mahrūsīn*. This expression resembles that used in Ps. 127³. Other expressions with the same idea are, *ʾAllāh ihallilak el-mahrūsīn; kull mahrūs maqrūs*.

⁶ CANAAN, *The Child in Palestinian Folklore*, JPOS, VII, 166.

⁷ The angel who records the good deeds sits on the right shoulder, the other on the left one.

poetically expressed in the beautiful evening prayer: "Sunset has taken place. Death draws nearer and the earth is closed over what it contains (the dead). O thou who writest down my misdeeds! O God, O my Lord, (I beseech thee), to efface them!"¹

The following invocation has the same idea. It shows at the same time that the saints are asked to intercede by the Almighty for us sinners:

My sins have increased, and I am confused by them!

By the life of our lady *Fāṭmeh*, her mother, and her father,
(I beseech Thee, O my God), to efface all my sins!

(As well as) every time the pencil records (one of) them!²

These two angels are believed to say for every action the person commits, "for ever" (*dāīman*), i.e., "May it (your action) continue to be done in this way for ever." Therefore old women advise young girls and especially brides to be always cheerful and kind and to utter nothing but good words.³

It is a well known fact that Mohammedans believe that angels do not enter a house where dogs, pigs, bells, human pictures, or statues are found.⁴ No angel will enter a privy. Even the two angels⁵ accompanying continually a person will await him outside the door whenever he enters such a place. Should he speak while he is in this unclean place, the angels have to enter to keep record of all that he has said. They will curse him for having forced them to enter the unholy place.

As soon as a person dies angels descend from heaven to see what sins he has performed. They examine every organ separately to find out what misdeeds each organ has committed. This is plainly expressed in the prayer:⁶

*Yā sūrati l-an'am*⁷ *iḥḍari lēlat wiḥdati*
wil-malā'ikah ṭāl'ah unāzleh *tūqallab fī djiṭṭati*
uṣṣifati wil-lsāni *hum asāsu lbalā.*

¹ *El-ghrūb gharabat wil-mōt qarrabat wil-ard qaffalat 'ala mā fihd yā kātib ṣisādāti ilāhi yā rabbi timḥid.* ² *kitrat dnūbi wiḥtari and fihd biḥyāt sitnd Fāṭmeh wimmhd wabūhd timḥa dnūbi kullhd kullma ḥatt el-qalam fihd.*

³ See also ZDPV, VII, 101.

⁴ This belief is dying out.

⁵ During the conjugal act the "angel of mercy", *malāk er-raḥmeh*, who is probably the recorder of the good deeds, leaves the room and reenters only after the person has washed himself ritually (*Ēn Kārim, Qalōniā*).

⁶ Heard in Jerusalem.

⁷ "The Cattle". See for explanation Sale, *The Qur'ān*, p. 89.

"O sixth sūreh, be present at the night of my solitude (death)! While the angels are ascending and descending and are entering into my body, my lips and my tongue, Which are the source of (my) destruction."

At sunset the angels are supposed to go around distributing to every person his supplies for the next day. Every person has therefore to stop working¹ for a short time in order not to be neglected by the angels.²

The demons are the cause of all the woes and diseases of the human race, "which are more numerous than the plants of the earth".³

The persistent ignorance of the Palestinian on the subject of medicine, its causes and symptoms accounts for their deeply rooted belief that sickness is attributable to the action of evil spirits. The only cure consists in their expulsion.⁴ As in olden times it is "not the most educated man who is competent for this work, but the most religious",⁵ or the one who is apparently most religious: priests,⁶ *ṣēhs*, and *darāwīš*.⁷

The devil and his host are never divided against themselves.⁸ This is well expressed in the saying "The devil never ruins his own house".⁹ The demons use many persons for their habitation or as instruments of their activity. Hence such expressions as

¹ Heard in Jerusalem. This custom is now nearly extinguished.

² Another belief is that in the night of the 10th of Moḥarram (*ʿAṣūrah*) a horse (or a mare) loaded with a saddle-bag (*ḥurǧj*), filled with gold and carrying on its saddle (or on its neck) a bloody human head goes through the streets of every city and village. Most of the people who happen to see it are frightened and run away. A brave man will however take the horse by its bridle, lead it to his house and empty the contents of the saddle-bag. He has to fill the same with whatever he happens to have at home, preferably with cereals (lentils, peas, beans, corn, barley, etc). If he fails to do so the whole gold disappears (*ḍaḥab ʿad-ḍaḥab*). Some believe that the horse (it may also be a mule) comes to every house and knocks on the door. Such a horse is called *faras ʿaṣūrah*.

³ *Maṣāʾib ʿad-dahr aḵṭar min nabāt el-ʿarḍ*.

⁴ Matth. 9^{32, 33}; 12²²; Luk. 13^{11, 16}.

⁵ L. STAFFER, *Palestine in the Time of Christ*, p. 252.

⁶ Adjazmāṭārī, pp. 209, 217.

⁷ In the time of Christ and in the Talmudic era rabbis, scribes and doctors of the law undertook the casting out of demons.

⁸ Math. 12²⁶.

⁹ *Iblīs mā biḥrib bētuh*.

"Idleness is the workshop of Satan";¹ "The sleep of the unjust is devotion";² "The lazy hand is unholy (lit. filthy, impure)".³

An important feature in the religious beliefs of the Palestinian is the dwelling-place of the good and evil superhuman powers. The first live with God in heaven and the latter in the lower world and on earth. A great number of the angels descend continually to the earth to execute the orders of the Almighty. A large number of the *djinn* spend the greater part of their life on earth. The souls of the *welīs* are more bound⁴ to the earth than the angels. This is especially true of saints who are ancestors of living families. The souls of the dead are still more restricted in their movements. They visit from time to time their tombs where their relatives may deposit offerings for them several times a year⁵. The nearness of heaven to hell has been described by the author in his article *Water and the Water of Life*, JPOS, IX, 64.⁶

The human race is the most perfect creation. An oath speaks directly of God who creates and shapes a person: *wihyāt illī ḥalaqak uṣauwarak*, "By the life of the One who created and shaped you!"⁷ But man has to die. "Death is (at last) a blessing" (*el-mōt raḥimeh*), and "the only condition in which God made all men alike".⁸ Death which "is nearer to man than his teeth to the tongue"⁹ is only a transitory state, for it is followed by resurrection. The whole of the

¹ *El-baṭāleh karaḥānet es-sīṭān*. A classical proverb runs راس الكسلان معمل الشيطان.

² *Nōm ez-zālmin ʿibādeh*. ³ *El-ʿīd el-baṭāleh nidjseh*.

⁴ CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 248.

⁵ *Dāmonenglaube*, p. 16. *Mohammedan Saints*, pp. 263 ff.

⁶ Some new material to illustrate this idea is: all the souls of the righteous dead meet twice a week in the pit below the holy cave of the *Ṣaḥrah* (*bīr el-ʾarwāḥ*) to adore ʾAllāh and to await the day of judgement. The explainers of the Qorʾān quote the 13th verse of the 37th sūreh in support of this theory. The verse runs "And a high wall shall be set betwixt them, wherein shall be a gate, within which shall be mercy, and without it over against the same the torment of Hell". They say the eastern wall of the Temple area is the wall referred to in this verse, as it separates the holy area from the valley of hell.

⁷ Therefore He will not neglect us, *illī ḥalaqak mā byutirkak*. An oath used by Mohammedans and Christians is *uḥaqq man ʾamāt uqāder ʾimītnī*, "By the truth of the One who has ordered the death of many (before me) and who is able to kill me".

⁸ *Rabbnā ma sāwāna illa fil-mōt*.

⁹ *El-mōt aqrab lal-insān min es-snān lal-lsān*. Another proverb with the same meaning is *el-mōt aqrab min el-ḥādjib lal-ʿēn*, "Death is nearer (to man) than the eyebrow is to the eye".

human body changes into dust, and dust has not the power of resurrection. But in the lower part of the vertebral column there is a small round and hard piece of bone, which never changes into dust. From this *bizreh* or *uqdeh* the whole body regenerates and rises up on the day of judgement. Every human person has therefore to think continually of death. The following saying beautifully expresses this idea; "O my God, give me the ability of being always content and let me think every hour of death".¹ The following invocation describes the feelings of a human being towards his Creator in respect of death and the day of judgement:

I beg the almighty God to forgive (me) the (great) number of past sins!
I beg the almighty God to forgive (me) the (great) number of future
sins (which I am afraid I shall commit)!

I beg the almighty God to forgive (me) when I die!

I beg the almighty God to forgive (me) on the day of meeting (him)!²

¹ *yā rabbi l-qanā'ah wiftikār el-mōt kull sā'ah.*

² *Astaghfir ḌAllāh el-ʿazīm min ʿadad ma maḍā,*

" " " " " *baqā,*

" " " " " *ʿind ṭlūʿ er-rūḥ*

" " " " " *el-multaqā.*

EIN UNBEKANNTES DENKMAL IN EDM?

J. BRASLAVSKI

(TEL AVIV)

Als wir auf unserem Wege von *Tafile* nach *Kerak* den nördlichen Rand der Hochebene von *el-Djibāl* bei *Rudjm el-Kerak* (oder *el-Keraka*) erreicht hatten, erwähnte unser Führer eine „*ḥirbeh muhimmeḥ*“ (bedeutende Ruine), die tief im *wādī Laʿabānī*, abseits von der Verkehrsstraße liegen sollte. Trotz des schwierigen Weges, der dahin führte, willigte ich in den Besuch dieses Ortes ein und trennte mich von meinen Gefährten, um sie später im *wādī el-Ḥeṣa* wieder einzuholen.

Es war 6.35 Uhr morgens, 20 Minuten nördlich von *Rudjm el-Keraka*, als wir am Rande des **wādī eṣ-Ṣāf*,¹ ein Seitental des *wādī Laʿabānī* zum letzteren herabstiegen. Dieser tiefe und wilde Abgrund, sowie seine terrassenartig gegliederten Abhänge gewährten samt den von tiefen Schlitten aufgerissenen Feuersteingüssen, den anmutig bebauten Flächen im Talgrunde und dem üppigen Gewächs einen der fesselndsten Anblicke des Landes.

Um 7.45 Uhr gelangten wir an einem kleinen Bach, der in Windungen von einer Quelle **Ein Sidr* herkommen soll. Zwischen *Sidr*-, *Zaʿrūr*-, *Qatf*-, *Hala*- und *Tarafage*büsch war ein alter Aquädukt, teils im Felsen gehauen, teils aus Quadersteinen gebaut, sichtbar.

Um 7.50 Uhr überschritten wir einen zweiten, von einer *Šēzam* benannten Quelle herkommenden Bach, der an dieser Stelle eine Wassermühle, **Taḥūnet el-Laʿabānī*, trieb. Gleich darüber erhob sich eine kleine Terrasse, die die bezeichnete Ruine tragen sollte.

Ḥirbet ed-Deṛīḥ heißt die Ruine. Schon der erste Blick zeigte, daß mein Führer weder gelogen noch übertrieben hatte. Vor uns lagen die schönsten Trümmer auf der ganzen Strecke von *Petra* nach *Kerak*. Aus ihnen war eine mit einem Hof versehene Basilika deutlich erkennbar. Sie ist ungefähr² 27 m lang und 18,5 m breit und von SSW nach NNO (190°—10°) gerichtet. Die O-W laufende

¹ Die mit diesem Zeichen versehenen Namen kommen weder bei ALOIS MUSIL, *Arabia Petraea* noch bei BRÜNNOW-DOMASZEWSKI, *Provincia Arabia* vor.

² Nach SCHRITTEN (45 × 31) gemessen.

Mauer des südlich der Basilika liegenden Hofes zeigte ein Tor, dessen Pforten, 2.70 m lang, im Inneren des Hofes, hart am Tore herabgestürzt lagen. Die eine Seitenwand der Basilika zählte noch fünf Steinschichten.

Die kurzen, hübschen Schäfte der Säulen und Halbsäulen des Tempels waren über die ganze Trümmerfläche zerstreut, darunter auch die uns besonders von den Synagogen Palästinas her bekannten typischen Ecksäulenpfeiler, deren horizontaler Querschnitt die Form eines Herzens hat.¹ Die korinthischen Kapitele und Eckkapitele zeigten feinstgearbeitete Akanthusblätter und die äußerst sauber geglätteten Quadersteine eine ziemlich reiche Ornamentik von Trauben, Reben, Weinblättern, Blumen und Eierstäben. Besonders auffallend waren die typischen von den Türsturzen der Synagogen Palästinas und den antiken Privathäusern Transjordaniens wohlbekannten Kränze.² Einer dieser Kränze zeigte auch den Herkulesknoten. Ein anderer Kranz schien Spuren eines Menschenkopfes zu tragen. Diese Skulptur muß einst mit Absicht zerstört worden sein, denn sie bildet zu der anderen guterhaltenen Ornamentik einen krassen Kontrast.

Diese Ruine scheint bis jetzt nicht besucht worden zu sein. Sie ist sowohl ALOIS MUSIL als auch BRÜNNOW-DOMASZEWSKI völlig entgangen. MUSIL erwähnt zwar, daß man ihm östlich vom *wādī Laṣābānī* mehrere Quellen mit einer Mühle und *Hirbet ed-Deṛīḥ* am rechten Ufer dieses *wādī* gezeigt hätte (*Edom* II, S. 243), weiß aber von der Ruine selbst nichts zu berichten.

Auch BRÜNNOW-DOMASZEWSKI streiften fast diesen Ort: In ihrer *Provincia Arabia*, Straßburg, 1904, B. I., S. 108, führen sie eine kurze Beschreibung einer Ruine ohne Namen von IRBY-MANGELS, aus den Jahren 1817–1818 an,³ in der wir die Ruine von *Hirbet ed-Deṛīḥ*

¹ KOHL-WATZINGER, *Antike Synagogen Galiläas*, Leipzig, 1916.

² Ibid, S. 188–191.

³ "There are rich arabesque borders of vines and foliage, much in the taste of Diocletian's buildings at Palmyra, or the triumphal arch. The capitals are not of any regular order, but fanciful and loaded with ornaments. The execution is sharp and neat. The temple appears to have fronted SSW, and there were apparently four semi-columns attached to the front wall, 3 feet 5 inches in diameter. Amongst the fragments are pieces of columns of a smaller size. Near this are other vestiges of buildings, but nothing that gives reason to suppose there ever was a town . . ."

erkennen, fügen aber ihrerseits die Bemerkung hinzu: „Dieses haben wir nicht gesehen“.

Daß diese Ruine bis jetzt noch unbekannt geblieben ist, und daß sie also eine gründlichere Untersuchung erforderte, war mir an Ort und Stelle leider nicht bekannt, auch drang der Führer nach wenigen Minuten darauf, den Ort zu verlassen, denn der Weg durch *wādī Laʿabānī* und *wādī el-Heṣa* soll unsicher sein.¹

Schlußfolgerungen können hier nicht gezogen werden. Es soll mit dieser Notiz nur die Aufmerksamkeit der Forscher Transjordanien auf diese Ruine gelenkt werden.

Als allgemeine Bemerkung sei nur noch hinzugefügt, daß die Richtung des Tempels mit der Richtung nach Jerusalem sich zwar nicht völlig deckt die Ornamentik aber manches mit derjenigen antiker Synagogen Palästinas Gemeinsames hat. Eine gründlichere Untersuchung möge die Zweckbestimmung des Tempels näher bestimmen.

¹ Um 8.05 verließen wir die Ruine, kreuzten die Quelle **Ein ed-Darīh*, die schöne Gärten und Felder bewässert. 8.35 waren wir bei **Birket el-Laʿabānī*, einer großen Quelle, die ein teichartiges Becken ausfüllt und ebenfalls Felder bewässert. Den *wādī Laʿabānī* entlang ziehend gelangten wir an die Verkehrsstraße, an die Stelle wo ein verlassenes Wachthaus einst diesen gefährlichen Durchzugsort bewacht hat.

DER DISTRIKT *Šrq* IN DEN SAMARISCHEN OSTRAKA.

B. MAISLER

(JERUSALEM)

Die Verwertung der Ostraka von Samaria zur Lösung topographischer Probleme stößt schon deshalb auf große Schwierigkeiten, weil das gleichzeitige biblische Material fast völlig versagt, während anderweitige Quellen nur in wenigen Fällen herangezogen werden können.

Dennoch gelang es Forschern wie ABEL, ALBRIGHT, ALT, KLEIN, NOTH u.a., die meisten in den Ostraka genannten Siedlungen mit modernen Ortschaften im Binnenlande Samariens zu identifizieren. Maßgebend ist für uns vor allem die Annahme von M. NOTH, daß es sich bei den in den Ostraka genannten Wein- und Öllieferungen an den Königshof um Abgaben der im Bereich der Hauptstadt Samaria zerstreuten Krongüter handelt.¹

Zumeist handelt es sich um Krongüter im samarischen Gebirge. Nur in einigen Fällen werden außerhalb dieses engen Umkreises liegende Orte genannt, nämlich die in den Ostraka No. 42 und No. 48² genannten Güter von *Jšb* und *Šrt*, die dem Distrikt *Šrq* zugewiesen werden, sowie die Ortschaft *ʾt-prn* (No. 48, 14), die ALBRIGHT wohl richtig mit *Ferōn* bei Tūl Karm identifiziert hat.

Es wurde bereits öfters betont, daß über die Lage des Distrikts *Šrq* nur wenig Sicheres aus den Ostraka selbst zu gewinnen sei. Vielleicht läßt sich dennoch die Lage von *Šrq* durch Heranziehung anderweitiger Quellen feststellen. Versuchen wir zuerst die Ortslage von *Jšb* zu bestimmen und für diesen Ort eine moderne Entsprechung zu finden.

Bereits ALBRIGHT hat *Jšb* mit *Kufr Šib* am Binnenrand der Küstenebene, kaum 4 Km. nördlich von Tūl Karm, identifiziert.³

¹ M. NOTH, *ZDPV*, 1927, S. 211; *Pal.-Jahrb.*, 1932, S. 54 ff.

² REISNER-LYON-FISCHER, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria*, I (1924), p. 239 ff.

³ W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, 1925, p. 39.

Diese Gleichsetzung wurde von ALT und NOTH in Erwägung gezogen.¹

Kufr Sib ist sicherlich eine alte Ortslage, was durch zahlreiche Reste aus verschiedenen Perioden bezeugt ist. Ich untersuchte die Ruinenstätte im Sommer 1932 und fand einige spätbronze- und früh-eisenzeitliche Scherben, sowie zahlreiche Stücke aus der römisch-byzantinischen Zeit.

Wichtig ist vor allem die Feststellung, daß eine Ortschaft *Jiṣūb* auch im Talmud und in den samaritanischen Chroniken erwähnt wird. Über diesen Ort erfahren wir Folgendes aus *Tosefta Demai* I, 11:

„Rabbi Jehuda sagt: Die Markthalle von ha-Jiṣūb (בִּיפֶת הַיִּשּׁוּב) und die von Antipatris und der Markt von Patros galten früher als zweifelhaft verzehnt, weil man sicher annehmen konnte, daß ihre Bodenprodukte von dem Königsberge (= Samaria) stammen; jetzt sagen unsere Lehrer: Alle Städte der Kutäer (= Samaritaner), die entlang der Straße sind, z. B. . . ., ihre Getreideprodukte sind zweifelhaft . . .“²

Der hier genannte Ort *ha-Jiṣūb* lag sicherlich am Rande des Gebirges nach der Küstenebene zu, wohl direkt an der Straße, die von Lydda über Antipatris und Tūl Karm nordwärts nach der Jezreelebene führte. Kein anderer Ort kommt dafür so sehr in Betracht wie Kufr Sib.

Mit *ha-Jiṣūb* der talmudischen Quelle ist wahrscheinlich die in den samaritanischen Chroniken erwähnte Siedlung יִשּׁוּב bzw. יִסּוּף oder קִרְיַת סוּפָה identisch. Dieser Ort lag in der Nähe der Stadt *Bīra* (בִּירָה), die ausdrücklich an der Verkehrsstraße lokalisiert wird, welche die Juden benutzt haben, um nach Jerusalem zu reisen.³

Es handelt sich bestimmt um die aus der talmudischen Literatur nachgewiesene Straße Lydda-Antipatris-Narbatta (= *Hirbet Beidūs*?)-Jezreelebene-Galiläa.⁴

Da *Jṣb* = Kufr Sib ausdrücklich dem Distrikt *Šrq* zugewiesen wird, so läßt sich dieser Bezirk topographisch einordnen.

¹ A. ALT, *Pal.-Jahrb.*, 1932, S. 25; NOTH, *ZDPV*, 1927, S. 236; *Pal.-Jahrb.*, 1932, S. 65.

² S. KLEIN, *Monatsschrift für Gesch. u. Wissen. d. Judentums*, 1930, S. 374.

³ ADLER, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLV, (1902), p. 80: קִרְיַת סוּפָה. Dieselbe Ortschaft heißt in der *Chronik von Toledo*: יִשּׁוּב und bei ABU-L-FATH: יִסּוּף.

⁴ Über diese Strecke s. DALMAN, *Orte und Wege Jesu* ³, S. 235f.; KLEIN, *ibid.*, S. 375 ff.

Nun möchte ich vor allem darauf aufmerksam machen, daß die Lesung *šrq* die einzig richtige ist. Dies ergibt sich deutlich aus dem Ostrakon No. 48, wo — nach dem Faksimile bei REISNER-LYON-FISCHER, *Harvard Excav. at Samaria*, I, p. 241 — der dritte Konsonant als *q* zu erkennen ist und aus dem Ostrakon No. 42, wo deutlich drei Konsonanten sichtbar sind, sodaß die Korrektur ALBRIGHT's *šrl* (= Azriel, der Name einer manassäischen Sippe)¹ bzw. die Lesung ABEL's *šrr* (= Dēr Serūr) nicht in Betracht kommen. Die Lesung ist demnach *šrq* (שרק) wie bereits REISNER und ALBRIGHT² und neuerdings ALT und NOTH³ richtig erkannt haben. Der Name ist שרק zu vokalisieren (vgl. שוֹרֶק, Ri. 16⁴) und von שרק „Trauben“, bzw. von שִׁרְק „Weinstock“ abzuleiten.⁴

Nun läßt sich ein ähnlich lautender Ortsname aus der talmudischen Literatur nachweisen. In einem in drei Versionen erhaltenen alten Zeugnis werden drei samaritanische Orte genannt, deren Wein den Juden verboten war wegen des Handelsverkehrs der in diesen Städten wohnenden Samaritaner mit den benachbarten heidnischen Ortschaften. In dieser Quelle werden den samaritanischen Städten כפר שדם und בירת סוריקה כפר פנש עין כושי und בורגתה אגדור gegenübergestellt (*Jerus. Talmud*, *Aboda zara* V, 4).

An Stelle dieser Ortsnamen bietet der babylonische Talmud (*Aboda zara* 31a): סריקא und ברקתא כפר פרשאי, אגדור (lies: אנדור), während im Traktat *Kuthim* c. II nur die zwei Orte גדור und פנשה genannt werden.

Nun hat bereits KLEIN richtig hervorgehoben, daß — wie aus dem Text zu ersehen ist — alle in dieser Quelle genannten Ortschaften in „der an Samaria grenzenden Meeresküste von Caesarea bis Lydda“ bzw. „nicht weit von der Küste“ lagen.⁵ KLEIN hat demnach Agdōr (bzw. Ōgdōr oder Gedōr) richtig mit „Gedera bei Caesarea“ (*Tosefta šeb'ith* VIII, 1) zusammengestellt und es mit Hūdaira identifiziert, während er בורגתה dem Ort Βοργαῖος (JOSEPHUS, *Bell.* III, 3, 5) = *Hirbet Berqit* gleichgesetzt hat.

¹ ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, XI, 1931, p. 249 f.

² *JPOS*, V, 1925, p. 39, n. 53.

³ ALT, *Pal. Jahrb.*, 1932, S. 25⁴; NOTH, *Pal.-Jahrb.*, 1932, S. 62.

⁴ Vom Stamme שרק = شرق „rot sein.“ Vgl. GESENIUS-BUHL, *Hebr. Handwörterbuch*¹⁷, S. 794 f.

⁵ S. KLEIN, *Festschrift A. Schwarz*, (1917), S. 392 f.

בִּירַת סוּרִיקָה hat KLEIN als „Burg der Sarazenen“ erklären wollen; er fand allerdings dafür keine moderne Enstprechung.

Für (*A*)*gdōr* = *Gedera* kommt m.E. kein anderer Punkt so sehr in Betracht, als *Tell Aḥḍar* an der Meeresküste, kaum 7 km. südlich von Caesarea. *Tell Aḥḍar* ist eine ausgedehnte Ruinenstätte, die zahlreiche antike Säulen und sonstige Reste aus römischer Zeit aufweist.

Was nunmehr „Paršāj“ (פַּרְשָׁאִי bzw. פִּנְשׁ) anbetrifft, so bedeutet dieser Name wohl „Kreuzweg“ und ist vielleicht an einem wichtigen Verkehrszentrum am Rande der Küstenebene (Bāqa?) zu suchen.

Burgātā bzw. *Burqātā* entspricht vielleicht *Hirbet Breiqtās*, westlich von *Tell Aḥḍar*.

Wenn demgemäß die Voraussetzung richtig ist, daß in dieser Quelle den an der Küste liegenden Ortschaften (*A*)*gdōr* und *Burgātā* Städte am Rand der saronebene gegenübergestellt werden, so scheint die Lokalisierung von *Birāth Sōrēqā* am Binnenrand der Küstenebene nahe der großen Verkehrsstraße geradezu notwendig zu sein.

Es steht demgemäß nichts im Wege, die Identifizierung von *Śrq* (שֶׁרָק) der Samaritanischen Ostraka mit *Birāth Sōrēqā* (בִּירַת סוּרִיקָה) bzw. (סָרִיקָא) der talmudischen Quelle vorzuschlagen. Sachlich ergänzen sich die Angaben der beiden Quellen untereinander überraschend gut, und sprachlich besteht sicherlich keine Schwierigkeit, die beiden Namen gleichzusetzen, denn der Wandel von ש in ס ist im späteren Hebräisch geradezu vorherrschend. Da *Jsb-Jišūb* (Kufr Sīb) ausdrücklich dem Distrikt *Śrq* zugewiesen wird und die talmudische Quelle auf das Binnenland der Küstenebene hinweist, so läßt sich dieser Bezirk topographisch wohl einordnen. Nach Norden erstreckte er sich wahrscheinlich bis an Kufr Sīb, im N.O. bis an das Territorium von Socho (I. Kön. 4¹⁰, dem heutigem *Šuwēkē*) und im Süden wohl bis Ferōn, das ALBRIGHT mit יִתְּפְרִן der samaritanischen Ostraka identifiziert hat. Nun erfahren wir, daß derselbe Beamte, dem die Abgaben von יִתְּפְרִן zugehen, auch die Lieferungen von der manassäischen Sippe Abi'ezer empfängt (No. 48¹³), sodaß wir wohl ALBRIGHT recht geben müssen, wenn er יִתְּפְרִן = Ferōn und 'Ophra = cṭ-Ta'ijibe als Bereich Abi'ezer's ansieht.¹ Dann würde sich der Bezirk *Śrq* nach Süden bis an das Gebiet von Abi'ezer (die Grenze verlief wohl nördlich von Ferōn) und nach Norden und Nord-Osten bis an

¹ ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, XI, 1931, p. 247 ff.

die Gebiete von Hēpher¹ und Socho erstreckt haben. Er schloß demnach die Orte *Kufr Sīb*, *Ṭūl Karm* und *Irtāḥ* mit ein.

Fragen wir nun, wo der Mittelpunkt des Bezirkes *Śrq* der samaritanischen Ostraka und die Ortschaft *Birāth Sōrēqā* der talmudischen Quellen gesucht werden kann, so kommt dafür wohl kaum ein anderer Ort so sehr in Betracht wie *Ṭūl Karm*. Eine Grundlage für diesen Vorschlag bietet außer den rein topographischen Überlegungen auch die Annahme, daß der hebräische Name שַׁרְקָה „Weinstock“, „Weinpflanzung“ bzw. כִּירַת סוּרִיקָא „Burg der Weinpflanzungen“ durch den aramäischen Namen *Ṭūr Karmā* „Berg der Weinpflanzungen“ (sc. „Weinberge“) verdrängt worden ist.²

Nun wird eine Stadt *Bira* bzw. *Birāthā* öfters in den samaritanischen Chroniken erwähnt, und zwar in engem Zusammenhang mit קרית סופה = קריית סופה³ und mit קרית עפרתה = עפרה (Eṭ-Ṭaijibe).⁴

Dieser bisher nicht lokalisierte Ort *Bira* kann demnach sehr wohl mit *Birāth Sōrēqā* = *Ṭul Karm* zusammenhängen. Dafür spricht auch die Tatsache, daß *Bira* ausdrücklich an der großen Verkehrsstraße lokalisiert wird, welche die nach Jerusalem reisenden Juden Galiläas und der Saronebene zu benutzen pflegten.

¹ Vgl. MAISLER, *Wochenbeilage Dabar*, No. 2297, S. 3. S. auch meinen demnächst im *JPOS* erscheinenden Artikel „Die westliche Linie des Meerweges“.

² Über *Ṭūl-Karm* = aram. *Ṭūr karmā* s. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS*, VI, 1931, p. 244.

³ ADLER, *Revue des Etudes Juives*, XLV, 80.

⁴ ADLER, *ibid.*, XLIV, 211.

THE NORTH-CANAANITE POEMS OF AL'ÊYÂN BA'AL AND THE "GRACIOUS GODS"

W. F. ALBRIGHT

JERUSALEM

A year and a half ago the writer printed a paper in this *Journal*, entitled, "The North-Canaanite Epic of Al'êyân Ba'al and Mô't."¹ In it he offered a translation of most of the first tablet of this epic, published two years ago by VIROLLEAUD. Since then the latter has published two new texts from Ugarit,² both of which are discussed in the present paper. The first³ of the new texts is an additional tablet belonging to the Al'êyân⁴ epic — probably preceding the first published tablet, as we shall see. The second text⁵ is an extremely enigmatic one, dealing mainly, if not entirely, with the birth of the "Gracious Gods." There are still a number of very important

¹ See *JPOS*, 1932, 185–208. Here the previous literature is mentioned. The text edition of the first tablet of Al'êyân Ba'al and Mô't by VIROLLEAUD will be cited hereafter as *A*. — Note the following abbreviations used in this paper: *AJSL* = *American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*; *AOF* = *Archiv für Orientforschung*; *Bulletin* = *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*; *JAOS* = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*; *JBL* = *Journal of Biblical Literature*; *JPOS* = *Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society*; *JRAS* = *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *MVAG* = *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen (Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen) Gesellschaft*; *OLZ* = *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*; *RHR* = *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*; *RS* = *Ras Shamra*; *ZA* = *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*; *ZAW* = *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*; *ZDMG* = *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*.

² This identification, proposed first by the writer, is now generally accepted. DUSSAUD is also favourable to it now; see *RHR*, 108, 25, n. 5.

³ *Syria*, XIII, 113–163, cited hereafter as *B*.

⁴ For this form of the name and its origin see *JPOS*, 1932, 189. BAUER has adopted the writer's suggestion that the god Ελουv of Philo Byblius represents a fusion between Al'êyân and Εlvón (cf. *JPOS*, 1932, 190 and *ZAW*, 1933, 96 f.).

⁵ *Syria*, XIV, 128–151, cited hereafter as *C*.

tablets to be published, belonging to at least two other cycles, as well as a number of fragments, some of which appear to be exceedingly useful, despite their brevity. When VIROLLEAUD has published all the available material it will be possible in many cases to substitute the lexicographic for the comparative method of ascertaining the meaning of words, and it ought not, therefore, to be long before the documents are all fairly well understood. Until then it is perhaps rather premature to essay any comparative mythological, or comparative geographical treatment. DUSSAUD's experiments along these lines have, it is true, met with some success,⁶ but the proportion of success to failure is naturally small, owing to the obscurity of the texts, even after VIROLLEAUD's admirable pioneer interpretation.

According to VIROLLEAUD there are no duplicates among the poetic texts, a fact which suggests that there may have been only a single copy of each, deposited in the temple archives of Ugarit. Even if this should prove to be the case, there is no room for discouragement, since the tablets containing a record of ritual offerings and several letters and business documents, first published by VIROLLEAUD, show that the script was extensively used in Ugarit, and that it was employed for Horite as well as for North-Canaanite. Sooner or later more documents in this script will certainly be found in northern Syria.

Meanwhile there is every chance that additional tablets in the script of Ugarit will be found in Palestine, since the writer has identified this script on a cuneiform tablet discovered at Beth-shemesh by ELIHU GRANT, in the spring of 1933. With GRANT's generous permission, for which thanks is herewith expressed, the writer examined the tablet in question, and will publish it in the February *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (no. 53). The "tablet" is really a long piece of local clay, shaped very much like a plain copper axe-head, about 15 by 5 cm. The sides are flat; the obverse bears a stamped inscription running around three sides, while the reverse is blank. The stamped inscription is depressed and in mirror-writing, which shows that the original inscription

⁶ His three articles have appeared in *RHR*, 104, 353-408; 105, 245-302; 108, 5-49. They are particularly valuable for their insight into the nature of Phoenician religion and mythology.

was raised, and thus belonged to a mould made for the purpose of impressing the text on objects of clay. The analogy of the inscribed adzes and "hoes" from Ugarit suggests that our object is either a votive or an amuletic imitation of them, but the local clay shows that it cannot have been made outside southern Palestine. The date is fixed as LB II, probably the fourteenth century, by the ceramic found in the same room with it. Unhappily the text is so broken that a cogent interpretation is hardly possible.

A number of scholars are taking an active part in the interpretation and analysis of the epoch-making new material, and very important contributions have been made since the publication of the writer's first paper in this *Journal*. Aside from VIROLLEAUD himself and DUSSAUD, whose contributions have already been listed, the most important work is due to BAUER,⁷ BANETH,⁸ FRIEDRICH,⁹ GINSBERG,¹⁰ and MONTGOMERY.¹¹ In a very important brief paper FRIEDRICH has laid the foundation for further morphological study of the North-Canaanite tongue, while GINSBERG has made numerous contributions to our knowledge of the grammar and lexicography of the texts, and has solved a number of puzzling problems of interpretation. Studies of the texts have also been made by BARTON,¹² DHORME,¹³ EISSFELDT¹⁴, GASTER,¹⁵ HROZNY,¹⁶ and others, while CANTINEAU has contributed a suggestive discussion of the linguistic position of North Canaanite.¹⁷ The writer has also offered a preliminary study of the second published tablet of Al'êyân Ba'al,¹⁸ which is greatly expanded (with many modifications and corrections) in the second part of this paper.

⁷ *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, Halle, 1932 (September); *Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra* (ZAW, 1933, 81-100).

⁸ *OLZ*, 1932, 449-53 (which reached the writer while he was reading the proofs of his paper in the *Journal* cited above), 705-6.

⁹ *ZA*, 7 (N.F.), 305-13 (see also his slightly earlier review of BAUER, *AOF*, 8, 239-42).

¹⁰ His three papers have appeared in *Tarbiz*, 4, 106-19; 380-90; 5, 75-96. See also *OLZ*, 1933, 593-4.

¹¹ *JAOS*, 53, 97-123, 283-4. ¹² *JAOS*, 52, 221-31.

¹³ *OLZ*, 1933, 8. ¹⁴ *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios*, etc., Halle, 1932.

¹⁵ *JRAS*, 857-96; *Archiv Orientalni*, 1933, 118-23; etc.

¹⁶ *Archiv Orientalni*, 1932, 118-29, 169-78, etc.

¹⁷ *Syria*, XIII, 164-9, 408 below. ¹⁸ *Bulletin*, no. 50, 13-20.

NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE AND SCRIPT OF UGARIT

My transcription of the consonants is the same as that which was already employed in the former paper in the *Journal*,¹⁹ except for letter no. 8, which we now write *x* (with BAUER), instead of *z*, and no. 9a, now proved to be *z* (formerly *f*, our provisional *p*₂). VIROLLEAUD, GINSBERG, and others consider character *x* as representing *gain*, a view which is undoubtedly the best *a priori*. Unfortunately, however, *a priori* views are often wrong in language, so that BAUER's attitude is preferable. Let us, accordingly, examine the evidence, briefly.

The problem of how *gain* appears in our dialect is very difficult. The repeated occurrence of *rb*, "to enter," and *rb*, "evening," where ACCADIAN offers *erēbu* and Arabic *ḡrb*, might seem decisive, but GINSBERG has weakened this argument by pointing out that South Arabian has *rb*.²⁰ However, it must be said that a secondary dissimilation in South Arabic is more likely than a corresponding assimilation in Arabic, especially since the Arabic stem *rb* (whence the name of the people) is extremely ancient (the name of the people first appears in Assyrian inscriptions of the ninth century B.C.), and is sharply distinguished throughout from *ḡrb*. The stem *dn* (*B*, IV-V, 68-9) is Arab. *ḡdn*. Again, the stem *bʿr*, "to burn" (*B*, IV-V, 16, and *C*, p. 149, n. 1.) appears in Arabic as *bḡr*, as pointed out by BARTH.²¹ The word *lm* (*C*, lines 42, 46, 49) seems to be Heb. *ʿelem*, Arab. *ḡlām*; on the other hand VIROLLEAUD is perhaps correct in identifying *xlmt* in the passage *ʾatt tqh btk - xlmt tʿrb ḥzrk* (*C*, p. 140, n. 1) with Heb. *ʿalmah*, (Arab. *ḡlāmah*), since it is parallel with *ʾatt*=Heb. *ʾiššah*, Accad. *aššatu*, etc. The cases added by VIROLLEAUD are not convincing. The noun *xnb*, read *ḡnb*, "vine," by VIROLLEAUD (*C*, line 26) cannot have this sense, since the corresponding Arabic word is *ʿinab*, South Arabian *aʿnāb*, "vines." The supposed *sgd* (*C*, line 30) may be *šmd*, or something else; Heb. *šd* corresponds to Arabic *šd* (cf. also *dʿs*, and my note on *B*, IV-V, 82). The equation *txr*=*tḡr*, "gate" (Heb. *šʿar*) is very plausible (see *C*, p. 143), but until the context is published must remain uncertain. BANETH's and GINSBERG's explanation of *xr*, which

¹⁹ See the table, *JPOS*, 1932, 187.

²⁰ See *OLZ*, 1933, 593, and *Turbiz*, 4, 381, n. 3.

²¹ BARTH, *Wurzeluntersuchungen*, p. 6f. Another parallel is probably *ʿrz* = Arab. *ḡalīz*; see n. 28, below.

occurs constantly in parallelism with gb^c , "hill," as $\bar{g}ôr$, "valley" (Arab. $\bar{g}aur$), is not convincing, since the parallel $kl\ xr\ lkbd\ \bar{a}r\bar{s}$ — $kl\ gb^c\ lkbd\ \bar{s}dm$ ($\bar{s}dm = \bar{a}r\bar{s}$, as pointed out by GINSBERG) is alone sufficient to prove the equation $xr = gb^c$, so xr means "mountain." In *B*, VIII, 5, the sense "valley" is impossible, since even a god cannot well carry a valley on his hands. Moreover the parallel expression is "forest," just as in *B*, VII, 36: words for "mountain" and "forest" are practically interchangeable in the ancient Semitic tongues. On the other hand, the equation rxb and Arab. $r\bar{g}b$, "be hungry," independently pointed out by the writer and BAUER (*ZAW*, 1933, 82), is a clear case of $x = \bar{g}$, but is completely offset by the following $xm^c =$ Arab. $\bar{z}m^c$, "be thirsty."²²

If we turn then to the complementary problem of how za appears in the script of Ugarit, our difficulties become even greater, if possible. Our former view, that character x represents Arabic za , is rendered extremely difficult by VIOLLEAUD's discovery of a character which undoubtedly corresponds to za . It is true that he did not recognize the fact that the character only (except where combinatory laws have been at work) stands for za (cf. *B*, p. 115, n. 1), but the following brief list of equivalences will prove it beyond cavil: $\bar{h}zr =$ Arab. $\bar{h}azirah$ ²³; $m\bar{z}ll =$ Aram. $ma\bar{t}lelâ$;²⁴ zr , "upon" = Accad. $\bar{s}ér$, "upon, back," Arab. $\bar{z}ahr$ ²⁵; rz , "run" = Aram. $rehêt$ ²⁶; $\bar{h}zt =$ Arab. $\bar{h}izah$, "good fortune"²⁷; $\bar{r}z =$ Heb. $\bar{a}r\bar{i}s$, Arab. $\bar{g}al\bar{i}z$, "strong, violent."²⁸ The one exception, $\bar{z}h\bar{q} = \bar{s}h\bar{q}$, if correct,

²² Another parallel is perhaps $rx\bar{t} =$ Arab. $ra\bar{g}a\bar{t}a$; see VIOLLEAUD, *B*, p. 130.

²³ This etymology is now generally accepted; cf. HEHN in the *Meißner Festschrift* (not accessible in Jerusalem) on $u\bar{s}urtu$; the writer has held it for many years.

²⁴ Also Accad. $ma\bar{s}allu$, S. Arab. $m\bar{z}ll$ (GINSBERG, *Tarbiz*, 5, 77, n.), all from the $pi^c el$ of the stem $\bar{z}ll$, meaning "to roof." See already *Bulletin*, No. 50, p. 14, n. 8.

²⁵ This is also a universally accepted Accadian etymology; the Arabic-Aramaic-Hebrew h may be secondary, as often.

²⁶ For a possible Arabic etymology, with a za , see the writer's observations, *JAOS*, 47 (1927), 223, n. 26.

²⁷ The Arabic stem is $\bar{h}az\bar{i}ya$, for $*\bar{h}az\bar{i}wa$; the noun also $\bar{h}iz\bar{w}ah$, etc., as well as in the related form $\bar{h}azz$. Cf. *Bulletin*, op. cit., n. 21.

²⁸ The Arabic etymology is new, so far as we are aware, but since the meaning and vocalization of the two words are the same, it is much preferable to the derivation offered by GB. The interchange between l and r is quite common.

is on a par with Heb. *šhq*, = *šhq* both being combinatory phenomena

Turning now to the cases where character *x* seems to have a clear etymology in Arab. *ẓa*, we have a certain new one, *xm* = Arab. *ẓdmī'a*, Heb. *šamē*, Accad. *šummi*. The word *xr* is clearly "mountain" (see above), and must, therefore, be identified with Aram. *ṭirā*, Heb. *šīr*, and the Arabic cognates (see *JPOS*, 1932, 187). The verb *mxy*, invariably parallel to *ʔatw*, "to come," can hardly be an otherwise unknown *m̄gy*, but can very well correspond to Aram. *meṭā*, "to come" (*JPOS*, 1932, 3 f.),²⁹ though the fact that the verb has final *ʔalef* in the other languages does offer an obstacle to this etymology. The word *xnb* in *C*, 26 (see above) may correspond to Arab. *ẓinb*, "root," in which case the phrase *pṛt dlthm* [] *wxnbm* could mean "the fruit³⁰ of their vines³¹ [] and their roots," but the context is unclear. The word *nxr* in *Nxr-mdr* (*C*, 68 ff.) ought to mean "keeper, guardian, protector," i.e., "guardian of the plantations," and would thus correspond to Heb. *nšr*, Aram. *nṭr*, Arab. *nẓr*, etc. — The best solution at present seems to be that we have here a new Semitic consonant, which would not be surprising, since our script carries us back much farther than any other intelligible Semitic script except Accadian and Egyptian. South Arabian, which preserves the greatest number of original consonants, only goes back to about the eighth century B.C. (the date of the oldest inscriptions, according to the view of most scholars today), at least 600 years after the date of our documents. This consonant would appear in the later languages, where words with it are preserved, as *ẓa* and *ḡain*. Since *ẓa* becomes *ṣ* in Hebrew and *ṭ* in Aramaic, while it falls together with *ḏād* in colloquial Arabic, its original pronunciation may have been quite different, and may have resembled that of *ḡain* much more closely than in any of the later languages with which we are acquainted.³²

²⁹ In any case the verb *meṭā* would have to be separated from Heb. *māšā*, N. Can. *mš*, since the latter, if cognate with it, would have to exhibit either our *x* or the new *ẓ*. Both verbs may have fallen together in Hebrew.

³⁰ If the word is to be read *myṛt*, this explanation is impossible.

³¹ *Dlt* may be Accad. *tillatu*, *dillatu*, "vine."

³² On its possible phonetic evolution see VILENČIK, *OLZ*, 1930, 93 ff. It is, moreover, perfectly possible that the original values which he assigns to *ḏād* and *ẓā* should be interchanged (assuming that they are roughly correct, which is not, of course, proved), so that the value of *ẓā* was more like that of *ḡain*.

Though we have not changed the transcription of the sibilants, a word must be said about the pronunciation of the two characters which correspond to Heb. *šîn* and *śîn*, Arab. *ṣā*, *śîn*, and *šîn*, and Accad. *š* (see *JPOS*, 1932, 188 for a preliminary discussion). The character which we transcribe *ṣ* (the *š* of VIROLLEAUD, was pronounced *s* in North Canaanite at that time, as shown by the transcribed geographical and divine names in the Ugarit texts. Thus the name *Alṣ* is Amarna *Alasiya* (*Alašiya* is due to the North-Mesopotamian orthography used in the Syrian letters), Eg. 'A-ra-sa; the name *Tṣr* is Sum. *Subir*, Accad. *Subartu* (see *Syria*, 1930, no. 2, line 12). The Hurrian deities whose names are written in the Assyrian or North-Mesopotamian orthography *Šauška* and *Šimike* (*Šimige*), pronounced *Sauska* and *Simike*, are written *Tṣwik* and *Tṣmg* (BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 100). DUSSAUD's identification of *Tṣkmn* with the Cossaeen *Šuqamuna* is unlikely, both because of the sibilant (Babylonian orthography!), the *k* instead of *q*, and the remoteness of the Cossaeans from Ugarit. Nor is BAUER's further suggestion that *Šum*, mentioned with *Tṣkmn*, may be *Šumalia* (*Šimalia*), consort of *Šuqamuna*, at all probable (contrast *ZAW*, 1933, 99). It is also significant that the name of the goddess Iṣhara (Babylonian orthography) is written *Uṣhr* () in our texts. Whether any direct importance in this connection should be attached to the spelling *Tṣn* of the wife of the moon-god, evidently identical with Babylonian *Šin*, is not clear, since the problem of the correct sibilant in the Babylonian name is not yet settled,³³ and it is, moreover, probable that the form *Tṣn* is older than the Accadian form (see below). – A curious parallel has been pointed out by VIROLLEAUD (*C*, p. 142, n. 1) between the *Kṣrm* and *Zblnm* in the unpublished *Krt* epic and the Syro-Palestinian princes *Kwṣr* and *Tṣ3nw* (= *Zblnm*) in the *Ächtungs-texte*.³⁴ The first name, presumably pronounced *Kauṣar*, actually must reflect **Kauṣar*, the older form of *Kôṣar* (whence Gr. *Chūsōr*).

³³ The writer expects to discuss this question elsewhere. The Assyrian pronunciation was *Šin*, so the Babylonian was probably *Šin*, as indicated by several transcriptions. Other West-Semitic transcriptions of Babylonian names presuppose a Babylonian *Šin*, however. In the Ḥaḍramôt dialect of S. Arabian, the name is written *Syn* (*s* = Arab. *śin*). In Gen. 14:2, occurs the archaic name *Šin'ab*, "Šin is (my) father" (the change of sex in the divine name is no longer at all surprising), with the sibilant which corresponds to *ṣ* in North Canaanite.

³⁴ Cf. *JPOS*, 1928, 239.

In South Canaanite, which was on a different phonetic plane from North Canaanite, the sibilant shifted from \underline{t} through s to š^{35} while it remained s in the north; on the other hand, the diphthong *au* remained uncontracted until after 2000.

A very interesting difference between South Canaanite and North Canaanite has been pointed out by BAUER, on the basis of the Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire³⁶: in the language underlying the Egyptian forms \underline{t} appears as s (as in the north), but shares this value with original š (Heb. ś), while original s appears as š ; in the north s and š have fallen together as š , while \underline{t} remains isolated, with the pronunciation s (cf. BAUER, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra*, p. 25, n., where the meaning of the phenomena is missed). In Biblical Hebrew (dialect of Jerusalem) we have a third development, in which \underline{t} and s fall together as š , while ś remains isolated, becoming ś . As the writer has shown elsewhere, East Canaanite (Amorite) preserved the Arabic values of the sibilants (aside from the *samek*). Aramaic, again, preserved all three sibilants, but inverted the original values of the *śin* and *šin*.

GINSBERG³⁷ has suggested that the Râs eš-Šamrah script originally distinguished between *śin* and *šin*, the former being written with two wedges, while the latter has three (i.e., the former is like the latter, but with one wedge omitted). A priori this view is undoubtedly possible, but an exact statistic shows that there is at present no solid basis for it, since nearly all cases of *śin* are written with three wedges, and in the majority of occurrences *bšr* and *šd*, on which he rests his theory, are actually written with three wedges.

The extensive material now published makes it quite certain that FRIEDRICH and GINSBERG^{37a} are correct in reading the three

³⁵ Cf. WORRELL, *JPOS*, I, 19.

³⁶ BAUER, *Alphabet*, p. 25, n. The writer has in preparation a study of the sibilants in the Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire, which are complicated by the influence of different dialects.

³⁷ See *Tarbiz*, 4, 380; *OLZ*, 1933, 593, n. 1.

^{37a} GINSBERG introduces one modification into the three-vowel scheme by considering that the character y also stands for silent *šewā* (see *Tarbiz*, 4, 381-3; in his first paper, *Tarbiz*, 4, 109, he followed the writer, but in his second paper he adopted the three-vowel system of FRIEDRICH, though without the logical consistency of the latter). The writer continues to hold that a vowelless *alef* takes the colouring of the vowel that precedes; i.e., *ymšy* may

ʾalefs as ʾa (V's a), ʾi (V's e), and ʾu (V's é). The writer's former reading ʾa, ʾe, ʾi is thus wrong. The systems of distinction between the ʾalefs proposed by BAUER and DHORME, while in themselves quite sound, are, therefore, unnecessary, as well as typographically difficult. However, North Canaanite unquestionably had a five-vowel system, like Phoenician and Hebrew, as is certain from the fact that the diphthong *ay*, *ai* was contracted to *é* (ʾéb, "foe"; ʾéya, "where"; ʾék, "how (?)"; ʾél, "ram"; ʾén, "not"; also *bét*, "house"; *mém*, "water"; *šamém*, "heaven"; *yén*, "wine"; ʾér, "ass"; etc.), while *aw*, *au* was contracted to *ô* (yôm, "day"; lôr, "bull"; tôk, "midst"; qôl, "voice, thunder"; etc.).³⁸ It follows that the vowel *i* also stands for *e* (certainly for *é*), and that the vowel *u* presumably stands also for *o*.^{38a} The adaptation of a three-vowel system to five vowels suggests that our alphabet arose in a dialect where there were only three vowels, possibly in South Canaanite, where, as we have noted above, diphthongs were not yet contracted about 2000 B.C. It would also be possible to suppose that the script was invented in North Canaanite before the contraction of the diphthongs. In our transcription we endeavor to distinguish between probable *i* and *e*, *u* and *o*, but it must be confessed that our reasons for making the distinction may not always be cogent. For example, it is by no means certain that the vowel preformative of the first person in originally stative verbs was not simply ʾi at that time, as maintained by BARTH for proto-Hebrew,³⁹ and as apparently pronounced in the Canaanite of the Amarna Tablets.⁴⁰ It is also possible that ʾel, "god," was still pronounced ʾil; my preference for ʾel is due mainly to the fact that the Babylonians of about 2000 B.C. frequently wrote the element with an *e*-vowel in theophorous West-Semitic compounds.

correspond to *yamšî*, *reš* is to be pronounced *rešû* (singular), *yqrʾa* is *yiqra*, *yūḥdm* is approximately *yūḥadmi*. The phonetic principle involved is identical with that underlying Hebrew compound *šewâ* in such cases as נִשְׁמַח. This is also the view of FRIEDRICH (ZA, 7, N.F., 307).

³⁸ Cf. BAUER, *Alphabet*, p. 34 f.

^{38a} Unfortunately, there is no means of distinguishing *o* from *u* in Accadian cuneiform, so we do not know whether the Accadians of the second millenium heard *o* in West-Semitic words and names or not.

³⁹ See BARTH, ZDMG, 1894, 4 ff.; BERGSTRÄSSER, *Gesenius' Hebräische Grammatik* 29, II, § 14 f. ⁴⁰ BÖHL, *Die Sprache der Amarnabriefe*, pp. 54-5.

Our knowledge of the nominal inflection is naturally limited by the relative absence of vowels. The mimation had been given up entirely, and survives at best in adverbial formations (none of which has yet been pointed out for our dialect), as well as in a few stereotyped divine names, such as *Mlkm* (*Malikum* or *Milkum*⁴¹ – hardly *Malkum*, with BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 99), *Ktmsm* (if a divine name). Since *Milkum* appears as *Milkom*, among the Ammonites of the Iron Age, it follows that the North Canaanite of our texts is already on the same plane as Phoenician and Biblical Hebrew with respect to the mimation. Since the mimation was used by the West Semites down to between 1800 and 1500 B.C., as proved by the evidence of Egyptian and Babylonian transcriptions,⁴² it follows that our text cannot go back before the eighteenth century, at the earliest.⁴³

The case-endings were still used at that time, as was first pointed out by the writer, followed by FRIEDRICH and GINSBERG, who applied the principle more consistently than the writer had done. The nominative in *u*, genitive in *i*, and accusative in *a* were regular, though possibly not in all substantives. The invariable spelling of the word for "sheep" as *š* and of the word for "field" as *šd* (*šatē* in the Amarna transcription of South Canaanite), suggests that they were pronounced simply *šē* and *šadē* (for **šay* and **šaday*). The rules of North Canaanite phonology, where inter-vocalic *y*, as well as *ʔalef* in all positions, was preserved, do not favour a contraction of the end of the word such as we have in Accadian, where we have *šadū*, *šadī*, *šadā*, "mountain," and *rabū*, *rabī*, *rabā*, for **rabiyyu*, etc. The end of the loan-word *ks* (*kussānu*)⁴⁴ remains uncontracted, whereas in Accadian it became *kussū* (Sum. *guza*).

The age of the transition from case-endings to uninflected nouns in West Semitic can be fixed with fair accuracy, thanks to the

⁴¹ *Malikum*, with two short vowels, was the pronunciation at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon; cf. BAUER, *Die Ostkanaanäer*. In the time of the Amarna tablets epenthesis had already taken place, and the name becomes *Milku*; cf. the proper names *Ili-milku* and *Milkili* (*Milki-ili*).

⁴² See JPOS, 1928, 233–5.

⁴³ Cf. *Bulletin*, no. 50 (April, 1933), p. 19.

⁴⁴ FRIEDRICH, *ZA*, 7 (N.F.), 309, offers the hypothetical original vocalization **kissiʔu*, but the Sumerian, Accadian, and Aramaic forms show that the Hebrew vocalization *kissē* is secondary.

evidence of the Amarna Tablets and of the Egyptian transcriptions in the New Empire. The Canaanite Amarna Tablets are fairly consistent in their case-endings,⁴⁵ especially in the Canaanite glosses, as was pointed out by DHORME;⁴⁶ the exceptions are relatively infrequent. In the place-names of the Egyptian lists we have a progressive tendency to disregard case-endings. In the time of Tuthmosis III (cir. 1480 B.C.) the feminine names of places are always in the nominative, whereas in later lists they are often in the accusative or genitive; the masculine names in this list are all either nominative or accusative (accusative if preceded by an *u-o*-vowel, a fact which suggests that there was a dissimilatory tendency in Canaanite of this time, which the Egyptians faithfully imitated). Since this question will be treated fully in a forthcoming monograph of the writer on the *Vocalization of the Egyptian Syllabic Orthography*, we need not discuss it here further except to observe that the case-endings were in process of becoming confused and abandoned during the 15th–14th centuries B.C. This fact suggests strongly that our texts precede the fifteenth century B.C., and should be dated (with respect to time of composition, not of their present tablet form) between 1700 and 1500 B.C. Since one might reasonably object that the date at which mimation and case-endings disappeared varied materially in different parts of Syria and Palestine, it may be well to note that literary Accadian lost its mimation between 1800 and 1600, and its case-endings between about 1300 and 1000 B.C. (the spoken language lost them earlier). There was thus a parallel tendency throughout the settled Semitic communities of Western Asia.

The forms of the plural and dual, both feminine and masculine, correspond perfectly to older Canaanite and Biblical Hebrew. The masculine plural ending was *īm(a)* in the nominative, but *im(a)* in genitive and accusative, as pointed out by FRIEDRICH. The feminine plural ending was *ât(i)*, while the duals were respectively *ēm* (for older *aim*) and *atēm* (= Heb. *ataim*, as pointed out by the writer, followed now by VIROLLEAUD⁴⁷ and others). The nominal forms are thus throughout analogous to the oldest otherwise known Canaanite, and were quite different from Aramaic, Accadian, and Arabic.

⁴⁵ Cf. BÖHL, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁴⁶ *Revue Biblique*, 1914, 347 f.

⁴⁷ *Syria*, XIV, 144, n. 1.

When we turn to the verbal system we are faced with a much more complex and elusive situation. In the first place, there is so much dialogue, and such sudden changes of person and perhaps of subject, that it is very difficult to define the exact temporal functions of imperfect and perfect. There can be no doubt whatever that VIROLLEAUD was essentially right from the first in adhering to the Hebrew tense system, as against the Accadian, and that BANETH, BAUER, FRIEDRICH were only partly right in treating the imperfect as an Accadian aorist, i.e., as a narrative tense. In the second published tablet of the Al'êyân myth (*B*) VIROLLEAUD has very greatly increased the available material, which now yields at least 30 occurrences of the true perfect, against two in the first tablet (*A*). In the writer's first article (*Bulletin*, no. 46) he independently explained the imperfect as a narrative tense, but in his second one (*JPOS*, 12), he returned to VIROLLEAUD's view. The following clear instances of perfects may be noted, after eliminating all imperatives, as well as doubtful cases; *šmḥ* (*A*, III-IV, 14), *tḥm* (*ibid.*, 34), *ʿly* (*B*, I, 24), *ḥss* (*ibid.*, 25), *yšq* (*ibid.*, 26 f.), *štt* (II, 8), *mxy*, *mxyt* (22 f.), *štt* (1st per., III, 14), *mxy*, *mxyt* (*ibid.*, 23 f.), *mxyt* (2nd per., IV-V, 31), *ʾatwt* (2nd per., *ibid.*, 32), *tḥm* (*ibid.*, 41, 3), *yblt* (1st per., *ibid.*, 89), *šmḥ* (*ibid.*, 97), *šḥ* (*ibid.*, 98), *mxy* (*ibid.*, 106), *št* (*ibid.*, 107), *lḥm* (*ibid.*, 110), *šmḥ* (VI, 35), *bnt* (1st per., *ibid.*, 36), *ḫḫ* (*ibid.*, 40), *šql* (*ibid.*, 41), *šḥ* (*ibid.*, 44), *špq* (*ibid.*, 47 ff.), *lḥm*, *šty* (*ibid.*, 55), *šḥq* (VII, 21), *rgmt* (1st per., *ibid.*, 23), *ylt* (3rd fem. dual, C, 53, 60). In no case does the perfect occur with the conjunction *wa*, which apparently proves that the perfect with *waw* consecutive was not used as a narrative tense (though possibly as a future, according to the Hebrew usage). The tense employed after *wa* in incipient narration, and without *wa* in circumstantial narration is the imperfect, as in Hebrew, though there is a much more extended narrative use of the imperfect than in Biblical Hebrew.

One of the most interesting verb-formations in North Canaanite is the causative in *š*. Some scholars have gone so far as to deny that there is any other causative in this dialect, but the following list of causatives without *š* will be sufficient to disprove their position: *ʾamlk*, *nmlk* (= *ʾamlīk*, etc., *A*, I, 18, 20, 26), *mbk* (= *mabbīk*, I, 5), *tmṭrn* (= *tamṭīr*-, III-IV, 6), *tlk* (= *tōlīk*, III-IV, 7), *ymšʾi* (= *yamšīʾ*, V, 4), *tḫi* (= *tabḫī*, *B*, III, 21), *tsrk* (= *tōsīr*-, IV-V, 66),

tblk, *yblk* (= *tôbil*-, etc., IV-V, 77 ff.), *tr* (= *tûrê* [?], IV-V, 83), *td* (= *tôdi* [?], VI, 32), *umlk* (= *umlak*, VII, 43), *obl* (= *ôbil*, VII, 43), *yšb* (= *yašbi*-, VII, 51 f.), *hmry* (? VIII, 12). It is conceivable that this causative is an *ʔaf^cel*, but the analogy of Hebrew and older Aramaic, the occurrence of the form *hmry*, and the fact that our dialect agrees with Hebrew in using *h* as a deictic element (*hn* instead of Arab. *ʔin*, *ʔinna*, etc.), strongly favour the *hif^cil*. The causative in *š* only occurs in certain words, presumably all of them loan-words from another dialect, as is demonstrably the case with the *šaf^cel* in Aramaic.

A very important discovery of FRIEDRICH (accepted by GINSBERG) is that North Canaanite formed an indicative of the imperfect in *u*, just as in Arabic.⁴⁸ In Accadian this formation is only preserved in *ša*-clauses (*modus relativus*). His treatment is conclusive. He has observed that the indicative of the 2nd and 3rd per. mas. pl. ends regularly in *ûna*, and that the 2nd per. fem. sing. ends in *îna*, while the corresponding jussive forms lack the *na* (ZA 41, 308, n. 1). Further, all the imperfects with final *ʔalef* which end in *u* are clearly indicatives; cf. the forms *tb^u* (A, I, 7; B, IV-V, 23), *yš^u* (A, III-IV, 17; V, 10; VI, 13; B, IV-V, 30; VII, 22; C, 49, 55), *tš^u* (A, I, 11; II, 11; B, II, 21; IV-V, 87). FRIEDRICH has correctly vocalized them *tabd^u*, *yišša^u*, etc. His difficulty with the form *yqr^a* (i.e., *yigra*-, B, VII, 47 f.) is easily eliminated, since the context requires a jussive, as we actually have. The similar form *ymšⁱ* (i.e., *yamšⁱ*-, A, V, 4) must also be a jussive. That the indicative ended in a vowel is also proved by forms like *igly* (= *tagalliyu*-, A, I, 6, etc.), *išt^hwy* (*tištaḥawayu*-, A, I, 10, etc.), *txzy* (B, II, 11), etc. Jussives and imperfects with *waw* consecutive of the type *tertia^e infirmae* exhibit no *y*, as to be expected, since *wy^cn* stands for *wa-ya^cniy*, whence *wa-ya^cnî* (Heb. *wa-ya^can*), *y^cl* (A, I, 29) stands for *ya^clay*, whence *ya^clê*. The subjunctive (which is shifted to *modus paratacticus* in Accadian) exhibits an *a*, also as in Arabic: *lyš^a* (*liyašⁱa*)^{48a} [or *liyiša*], like Heb. *yimš^d*, in which case the verb

⁴⁸ Also in South Canaanite (Amarna); cf. BÖHL, *op. cit.*, § 34 q, but the explanation given is now shown to be wrong.

^{48a} It is impossible to reconstruct the vocalization from the Amarna Tablets, which offer *yuššⁱ*, *tuša*, *tišⁱ*, etc. However, as GINSBERG has shown, *Tarbiz*, 4, 382, the vowel of the imperfect preformative is regularly *a* before *u* and *i*, but

is a jussive], *Syria*, XII, 354), *ltkly* (*litakalliya*, A, II, 36, which is certainly not a jussive); *lymr'u* (*liymiraw'u*, B, VII, 50), which exhibits the same loss of the ending *na* as is found in Arabic. That the forms in *l* are true subjunctives syntactically, in the Arabic sense, is proved by such a passage as the following, quoted by VIROLLEAUD (*Syria*, XII, 354), but misunderstood then by him: *rgm ltd' nšm wltbn hmlt 'arš*, "in order that men might know the command, and that the population of the earth might understand."

With regard to the linguistic affiliations and position of the language of the Ugarit tablets, the writer maintains his original view,⁴⁹ that it is specifically Canaanite, but related more closely to Arabic (also to South Arabic), Amorite (East Canaanite), and Accadian than are the other known Canaanite dialects. Many of the apparent peculiarities are due to the fact that it comes to us in a much more archaic form than Biblical Hebrew, or even than the earliest Phoenician inscriptions, as well as than the Canaanite glosses in the Amarna Tablets. The inflections of nouns and pronouns are throughout, so far as we can tell, pure archaic Hebrew. The verbal forms are also pure Canaanite, except that the endings are new to students of Biblical Hebrew, though found to some

i before *a* in North Canaanite, in accordance with the law set up by BARTH for proto-Hebrew. In this case the vocalization agrees with that of Arabic verbs *primae waw*, as we can see from the parallel *'atbn* (A, III-IV, 18), from **wth*.

⁴⁹ *JPOS*, 1932, 207 f. This is also the view of VIROLLEAUD, DUSSAUD, and probably also of DHORME, though none of these scholars has yet discussed the subject from the comparative linguistic standpoint. CANTINEAU, on the other hand, writing solely from the phonetic point of view, maintained that the language was not properly Canaanite, but should be assigned a separate place, along with Canaanite and Aramaean (*Syria*, XIII, 164-9). BAUER, *Alphabet*, pp. 64-70, took a similar position, on the basis of morphological considerations, some of which are misleading, such as the argument from the lack of an article (which was certainly not employed in South Canaanite at so early a date), the *šaf'el* causative (which, as we have seen, is not as common as the *hif'il*), the use of the imperfect as a narrative tense (see above and note that it is often so used in Hebrew poetry). BAUER's term *Šafonisch* for the language is too recherché to become very popular. FRIEDRICH (*ZA*, 7, N.F., 311) agrees with CANTINEAU and BAUER, preferring some such a name as Northwest Semitic. However, none of these scholars (except FRIEDRICH) could take the extensive material in text-publication B into account, and none of them fully considered the complex dialect division of Canaanite or its rapid evolution during the second millennium B.C.

extent in the Amarna Tablets. The *ifte'al* forms are paralleled in the oldest Phoenician inscriptions, the Mesha Stone, and in Palestinian place-names like *Elteqô*, *Ešta'ôl*, and *Eštemô*.⁵⁰ Even the one *ištaf'al* form, *yšthwy*, appears in Biblical Hebrew though not previously recognized as a form of this type. Except for the archaic subjunctive in *li*, the style and syntax of our texts are surprisingly akin to Hebrew poetical usage. Many *hapax legomena* in Hebrew appear now in the tongue of Râs eš-Šamrah, while a great many words which are not found outside of Palestine in our other sources, now appear with the same form and meaning as in Hebrew. It is true that the phonological evolution of North Canaanite is slightly different from that of South Canaanite (Phoenician), or that of the dialect of Jerusalem (Biblical Hebrew), but the difference is no greater (allowing for the phonetic stage in which we find North Canaanite) than that existing between the latter two dialects themselves.

A NEW TABLET OF THE EPIC OF AL'ÊYÂN BA'AL AND MÔT

In the following pages the writer will offer a revised translation and interpretation of most of VIROLLEAUD's second publication of material from this epic. Since it is written eight months after the preparation of the preliminary translation offered by the writer in *Bulletin*, No. 50, it represents a considerable degree of progress beyond the point then reached, besides giving the linguistic commentary.

The new tablet of the epic of Al'êyân Ba'al and Môt seems to end with the intimation that Al'êyân is about to descend into the underworld, the realm of Môt. Since the first tablet published by VIROLLEAUD describes the efforts of 'Anat to free Al'êyân from his captor, Môt, it would seem that it must follow the new one. Col. I of the latter may, therefore, belong to the beginning of the preserved portion of the text. The new tablet is more difficult to interpret than the first one, and so our rendering is naturally subject to great caution. The writer has been able to make much progress

⁵⁰ Cf. BAUER, *ZAW*, 1930, 77. The correct pronunciation *Elteqô* (Accad. *Altaqû*) is known to us from the LXX.

since his previous paper, thanks partly to the work of other scholars, whose contributions will be duly noted.

Col. I is particularly elusive, so we shall content ourselves with short extracts: (13) *mṭb* ṽ*El.mṣll* (14) *bnh.mṭb.Rbt* (15) ṽ*Aṭrt.ym.* *mṭb* (16) *Klt. knyt.* (17) *mṭb.pdry. b(t) ṽar* (18) *mṣll. ṭly. bt rb* (19) *mṭb. ṽarsy.bt. yṽb dr* — The abode of El, the roofed building⁵¹ of his son, the abode of the Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea, the abode of the Perfect⁵² Bride, the abode of my city,⁵³ (which is) a house of light (?),⁵⁴ the roofed building of my district (?),⁵⁵ (which is) a great house,⁵⁶ the abode of my land, (which is) a spacious house.⁵⁷

After an obscure passage we read: (24) *Hyn, ṽly. lmpḥm* (25) *bd. ḥss. mṣbīm* (26) *ṽsq. ksp. yṣlh. ḥrs ṽsq. ksp* (28) ṽ*alpḥm. ḥrs. ṽsqm. lrbbt.* (30) *ṽsq. ḥym. wtbtḥ* — *Hyn* went up to the bellows, in his hand⁵⁸

⁵¹ See n. 24, above.

⁵² Cf. Accad. *kunnú*, "make perfect," *taknitu*, "perfection."

⁵³ The parallelism with *ṽars* (line 19) suggests that *pdr* means either "land" or "town." The material by VIROLLEAUD (*B*, p. 115—6 and n. 1, to which must be added *B*, VII, 7—8) makes it certain that the word was synonymous with *ṽr*, "town", especially in the phrase *wgrnn ṽrm ṣrn pdr m ṣt*, "and sojourn in the towns of — — —, the *pdr* of — — —." The phrase *pdr mlk ṽaḥd* (*RŠ*, 1929, no. 29, 3) reminds one forcibly of *אחת ערי המלכה* (Jos. 10:2). The writer suggested (*Bulletin*, no. 50, p. 14 f.) that the word *pdr* was a loan from an Anatolian language, since *patari* means "city" in Vannic (Urartian), which is generally believed to be an offshoot of a dialect closely related to Hurri (Horite), and the same word may perhaps, as has been suggested by others, appear in such Anatolian town-names as *Pteria* (Cappadocia), *Patara* (Lycia), and *Pitru* (Syria).

⁵⁴ Heb. *ṽdr*, "light," probably goes back to *ṽāru*, Accad. *āru*, "blossom, flower"; for semantic parallals see *AJS*, 34, 234, no. 54.

⁵⁵ So, with regard to the parallelism. Possible etymological sources may be illustrated by various derivatives of the stem *ṭwl*, "extend," such as S. Arab. *mṭwāl*, "corridor," and Sab. *mṭwl*, "road." See RHODOKANAKIS, *Sachau Festschrift*, p. 294. In our texts the form *ṭl* also appears.

⁵⁶ So also DUSSAUD, MONTGOMERY, GINSBERG.

⁵⁷ Lit., "spacious of circuit"; cf. Arab. *waṭib*, "spacious, of a house" and *dār*, "house, court," *daur*, "circle," Accad. *dūru*, "encircling wall." So also already DUSSAUD, *RHR*, 105, 293, n. 4.

⁵⁸ So with all but GINSBERG, who prefers to regard *bd* as an otherwise unknown verb meaning "to grasp," while *ḥss* he considers as *Ḥasis* (parallel here to *Hyn*). Against GINSBERG's view is the frequent occurrence of *bd*, where it can hardly have any other sense (e. g., C, line 8, which has *bdh*, "in his hand"), as well as the Amarna form *badiu* (i. e. **badēhū*, **badēu*, Heb. *בִּידוֹ*, "in his hands").

he grasped⁵⁹ the tongs; he melted silver, he hammered out⁶⁰ gold; he melted silver by the thousands (of pieces) and gold he melted by the myriads. — From this passage it would seem that *Hyn* was the divine goldsmith. — The rest of the column eludes interpretation, owing to the presence of several unknown words.

Col. II would be easier, in spite of the presence of several obscure words, if it were not so broken. We read: (3) *ʔahdt. plkh* [] (4) *plk. tlt.*⁶¹ *bym* [] (5) *npynh. mks. bšrh* (6) *tmt. mdh. bym. tn* (7) *npynh, bnhrm* (8) *štt. hptr. ʔešt* (9) *hbrt. lʔr pḥmm* (10) *tpp. Tr. ʔEl. Dpʔed* (11) *txzy. Bny. bnwt* (12) *bnš'i. ʔnh. wtpḥn* (13) *hlk. B'l. ʔAtirt* — — — (21) *tš'u. gh. wtšḥ* [.] *ʔek* (22) *mxy. ʔAl'eyn* [B] *ʔl* (23) *ʔek. mxyt. B[t]t* (24) *ʔnt. mḥsy ʔem[t] ḥš* (25) *bny h* [— — s] *brt* (26) *ʔaryy* — — — (28) *šmh Rbt. ʔA[trt]* (29) *ym. gm. lxlmh*. — She took her spindle (?)⁶² [] the exalted⁶³ spindle. On the [first] day she removed her clothing (?),⁶⁴ the covering⁶⁵ of her flesh, her garments⁶⁶ on the second day (she removed). On the morrow^{66a} she placed a *hptr* on the fire, an incense bowl (?)⁶⁷

⁵⁹ So already VIROLLEAUD and others. The semantic development is very simple. Our meaning "to grasp" is original, and Accad. *ḥasāsu*, "to comprehend, think of," is parallel to Accad. *aḥdzu*, "grasp, understand," Accad. *ekēmu*, "grasp" = Arab.-Heb. *ḥkm*, "to be wise," Heb. *leqāḥ*, "understanding," from *lqḥ*, "to grasp, take"; cf. also Eng. *grasp*, Lat. *comprehendo*, etc., etc.

⁶⁰ For *šlh*, "hammer out" (so GINSBERG, correctly) cf. Heb. *šlh*, "stretch," Accad. *šalū, šelū*, in various related senses; for Aramaic doublets see EPSTEIN, *Tarbiz*, 5, 96.

⁶¹ If this reading is right, compare Accad. *tēlitu*, "exaltation"; if *qlt* is correct render perhaps "spindle of humiliation," i. e., spindle that humiliates (?).

⁶² The word *plk* is surely Accad. *pilakku*, "spindle," whence Aram. *pilkā*, etc.

⁶³ But see n. 61, above.

⁶⁴ The rendering of *npyn* as "clothing" is conjectural; contrast GINSBERG's view. We translate *mt* with the Arabic, following VIROLLEAUD.

⁶⁵ Heb. *mikšē*. The passage is similarly interpreted by GINSBERG, except that he makes the goddess remove the clothing of a god, instead of her own.

⁶⁶ So VIROLLEAUD correctly, though he does not offer a translation of the passage. The Hebrew word should, however, be vocalized *midd-* or *madd-*.

^{66a} This explanation is very doubtful. We take *nhrm* as *nuhrēm* (type like Heb. *šohorayim*, "noon," and *bēn ha-ʔarbayim*, "at sunset"). In Syriac *kaukab nuhrd* is "morning star" (PAYNE-SMITH, col. 1694).

⁶⁷ For the latest discussion of the meaning of Hittite (originally Hurrian) *ḫubrus(ḫis)* see SOMMER, *Die Alḫijavā-Texte* (precise reference in the index), which is not accessible to the writer at present. For the spelling with *t* (pronounced s) see the phonetic discussion above.

upon the coals; she besought (?)⁶⁸ the bull, El Dp'ed, she implored (?)⁶⁹ the Begetter of Creatures⁷⁰ (?). When she raised her eyes she saw⁷¹ the caravan (journey)⁷² of Ba'al (and) 'Attart (?) — — — She raised (her) voice and spoke, "Behold, Al'êyân Ba'al has come, behold, the virgin 'Anat has come. Those who smite me I shall smite⁷³; my sons [] the company of my retainers⁷⁴[] Rejoice, O Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea!" Also to her — — — . — In lines 26–8 there are some references to silver and gold, and in lines 30 ff. there is mention of several of the deities already introduced in the first part of the column, but no connected text can be made out.

Col. III is also difficult; our rendering diverges widely from that of the *editio princeps*, but is, of course, subject to caution. We shall, however, propose a translation of nearly the whole text preserved: (10) y[] . 'Al'eyn . B'cl (11) y[] dd . Rkb . 'rpt (12) [] . Ydd . wyqlšn (13) yqm . wywptn . btk (14) p[h]r . bn . 'lm . štt (15) [] btlhny . qlt (16) bks . 'eštynh . (17) h(?)m . tn . dbhm . šn'a . B'cl . tll (18) Rkb . 'rpt . dbh (19) btt . wdbh^{74a} (20) dnt . wdbh .

⁶⁸ Since the verb 'pp is parallel to xzy, which is itself parallel to mgn, a comparison of the context in each case suggests a relation between mgn and Accad. *magāru*, "be gracious, favourable to," and between 'pp and Arab. 'afā, 'afw, "pardon, be merciful to." The rendering "ask for mercy" seems to fit the context best.

⁶⁹ See the preceding note.

⁷⁰ Vocalize approximately *Bāniyu binawāti* (pl. of *binôt = *binautu, Accad. *binūtu*, "creature, creation"); BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 83, offers a similar explanation.

⁷¹ For this meaning, which is apparently demanded by the context here and in IV–V, 27, cf. the writer's semantic treatment of the Semitic stems *wpy* and *p'y*, properly "to split," hence "to distinguish," etc., *JASOS*, 47, 216, no. 35. Many stems meaning "to see" meant originally "to split"; cf. the semantic parallels given *AJSL*, 34, 229, no. 46, *JASOS*, 47, 214, no. 28. The stem of our verb is presumably *wph, from the same ultimate source as the stems just mentioned. The derived *pht* in A, V, 12 ff. probably means "fate," properly "sign, portent." Contrast the views of GINSBERG and MONTGOMERY.

⁷² *Hlk* means probably both "journey" and "party making the journey," like Accad. *alaktu* and *halikah*.

⁷³ *Mḥsy* may be vocalized *mḥṣēya*. The construction with a participial cognate accusative is identical with that in Ps. 35:1, הָם אֶחָדָם, "fight those who fight against me." Contrast the explanations of VIROLLEAUD, MONTGOMERY, and GINSBERG.

⁷⁴ For this meaning and the probable Egyptian etymology see *JPOS*, 1932, 197, n. 47.

^{74a} The original has clear dittography.

tdnm (21) 'amht . w(l)bh . btt . libt (22) wbh . tdm(?) . 'amht
 (23) 'aḥr . mxy . 'Abeyn . B'l (24) mxyt . Bilt . 'nt (25) tmgnn .
 Rbt . Airt ym (26) txzyn . Qnyt 'elm (27) wt'n . Rbt . 'Airt ym
 (28) 'ek . tmgnn . Rbt (29) 'Airt . ym . txzyn (30) Qnyt . 'elm .
 mgntm (31) Tr . 'El . D'ed . hm.xz'tm (32) Bny . bnwt wt'n (33)
 Bilt . 'nt . nmgn (34) g(?)m . Rbt . 'Airt . ym. — [] Al'êyân
 Ba'al [] the Rider on the Clouds [] the Beloved, and he was
 insulted (?)⁷⁵; he arose and spat⁷⁶ into the midst of the assembly
 of the sons⁷⁷ of the gods: "I have drunk [] from my table,
 disgrace⁷⁸ in a cup I drank. Behold,⁷⁹ there are two sacrifices which
 Ba'al hates, three (which) the Rider on the Clouds (hates): the
 sacrifice of shame,⁸⁰ and the sacrifice of baseness,⁸¹ and the sacrifice
 (where) the maid-servants whisper,⁸² and in which thou mayest see
 shame(?), and in which the maid-servants whisper." (23) After
 Al'êyân Ba'al arrived, after the virgin 'Anat arrived, they besought
 (?) the Lady, Aīrat of the Sea, they implored (?) the Creatress of
 the Gods. And the Lady, Aīrat of the Sea, replied, "Behold, do
 ye beseech (?) the Lady, Aīrat of the Sea, do ye implore (?) the
 Creatress of the Gods? Ye have besought (?) the Bull, El Dp'ed,
 behold ye have implored (?) the Begetter of Creatures." And the
 Virgin 'Anat replied, "We beseech (?) also (?) the Lady, Aīrat of
 the Sea"

⁷⁵ The verb *qlš* is probably identical (partial assimilation of the *s* to the *q*) with Heb. *qalles*, insult, and Arab. *gallasa*, "humiliate oneself before."

⁷⁶ The verb *wpt* (note that the original(?) *w* is preserved in this stem, instead of being changed into *y*, as usual) seems to be identical with Arab. *nafala*, "to spit." For the close relation (due to analogical formation) between verbs *primae* *waw* and *primae* *nūn* see NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge*, p. 179 ff. Our dialect shares *ytn* (for **wtm*), for *ntn*, "to give," with later Phoenician. Vocalize as *pi'el*, *yawappit*?

⁷⁷ Plural, not singular, as shown by the use of *pḥr*, "assembly." So also MONTGOMERY.

⁷⁸ Like Accad. *qullultu*, "disgraceful act," Heb. *qelalah*, "insult, curse."

⁷⁹ Read probably *h* instead of *k*(?).

⁸⁰ The noun *btt* is evidently Heb. *bošet*, "shame"; for the sibilant cf. the related Aram. *bht*, "be ashamed."

⁸¹ With *dnt* cf. Arab. *ddniya*, "be base, vile," and *danna*, "be bent, of a man's back."

⁸² The stem *amm* cannot be separated from Heb. *dmm*, "to mutter" (this meaning was pointed out by HAUPT, and was fully discussed by SCHICK, *JBL*, 32, 219 ff.) and Accad. *damāmu*, "to moan."

Most of col. IV and V is preserved; since only the beginning of IV and the end of V is missing, and the columns are consecutive, we have here the longest unbroken context in the entire Ugarit library, amounting to over 120 lines, with very few lacunae. Beginning with line 8, we read: *yšm^c . Qd(š) . w^oAmr[r]* (9) *mdl . ʿr . šmd . p^hl* (10) *št.gpnm . dt . ksp* (11) *dt . yrq . nqbnm* (12) *ʿdb . gpn . ʾatn^h* (13) *y^hbq . Qdš . w^oAmrr* (14) *yštn . ʾAtrt . lbmt* (15) *lysmsmt . bmt . p^hl* (16) *Qdš . y^uhdm . šb^cr* (17) *ʾAmrr . kkbkb . l^pnm* (18) *ʾatr . btl^t . ʿnt* (19) *wB^cl . tb^c . mrym . špn* (20) *ʾedk . ltn . pnm* (21) *ʿm . ʾEl . mbk . nhrm* (22) *qrb . ʾapq . thmtm* (23) *tgly . šd . ʾEl . wtb^u* (24) *qrš . mlk . ʾab . šnm* (25) *lp^cn . ʾEl thbr . wtql* (26) *tšthwy . wtkbn^h* (27) *hlm . ʾEl . kyphnh* (28) *yprq . lšb . wyš^hq* (29) *p^cnh . lhdm . ytpd . w[y]krkr* (30) *ʾušb^cth . yš^u . gh . wy[š^h]* (31) *ʾek . mxyt . Rbt . Atr[t . y] m* (32) *ʾek . ʾatwt . Qnyt . ʾe[lm]* (33) *rxb . rxbt . wt(?)xt[]* (34) *hm.xm^u . xm^uit . wš[]* (35) *l^hm . hm . šty^m . lh[m]* (36) *btl^hnt.l^hm . št[]* (37) *bkrpnm . yn . bk(s) . hrš(?)* (38) *dm . šm . hm.yd . ʾEl mlk* (39) *y^hšsk . ʾahbt . Tr . ʾrrk* — “Let Qadeš—and—Amrr hear; caparison(?)⁸³ an ass, harness a he-ass, put on the housings⁸⁴ of silver, of gold from the mines,⁸⁵ make ready the housings of her she-asses. (13) Qadeš—and—Amrr shall embrace, shall place Atirat on the back⁸⁶ of an ass, on the trappings(?)⁸⁷ of the back of a he-

⁸³ This meaning is inferred from the parallelism with *šmd*; cf. VIROLLEAUD, *ad loc.*

⁸⁴ The meaning of *gpn* is also inferred from the context; for a possible cognate see GINSBERG, *Tarbiz*, 5, 83, *ad loc.*

⁸⁵ The word *nqbⁿ* evidently means “mine-shaft”; cf. Arab. *naqb*, Accad. *naqbu*, “tunnel,” Heb. *nqbh* (Siloam inscription). The mine-shafts of Sinai, dating in large part to the Middle Empire, and thus earlier than the time of our texts, illustrate it.

⁸⁶ Cf. Accad. *bantu*, pl. *bamdti*, “back, trunk (of animal or man)” (HOLMA, *Die Namen der Körperteile*, p. 55 ff.; WEIDNER, *OLZ*, 1914, 497). Synonyms are *šeru*, *kutallu*, “back.” TORCZYNER’S discussion of the word *bamah* and its Accadian cognates in the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*, no. 3, 12 ff., is stimulating, but hardly convincing in its main thesis, that the word meant originally “belly, centre.”

⁸⁷ The word *ysmsmt* may properly mean “decorations,” Arab. *wisdm*, Accad. *simtu*. The stem *ysm*, “be seemly, beautiful,” appears in North Canaanite (C, line 2, etc.).

ass. Let Qadeš be lighted⁸⁸; light⁸⁹ (the way), O *Amrrr*, like a star before the path⁹⁰ of the virgin 'Anat, and hasten,⁹¹ O Ba'al, to the heights⁹² of the north. (20) Behold thou shalt direct (thy) course to El, who causes the rivers to flow⁹³ from the midst of the fountain of the two deeps.⁹⁴ Thou shalt penetrate into the field of El and shalt enter the palace of the king, the father of years. At the feet of El thou shalt fall down, and thou shalt hold thy peace; thou shalt bow down and shalt honour him. (27) Then, when El sees⁹⁵ her, he will put away grief⁹⁶ and will smile, his feet he will place⁹⁷ on the footstool, he will entwine⁹⁸ his fingers, will raise (his) voice, and will speak, (31) 'Behold, O Lady Atirat of the Sea, thou hast

⁸⁸ The form *y'uhdm* is probably *hof'al*, *yu'had-mi*; for the meaning cf. Accad. *šūhuzu*, *šutāhuzu*, "to light a fire." The enclitic *mi* (or less probably, *ma*) seems to have the same emphatic quality as in the Amarna Tablets.

⁸⁹ *Šb'rr* is a *šaf'el* corresponding to Heb. *hib'ir*, "to light (a torch, etc.)." Note that the Hebrew *pi'el* also means "to light a lamp." Contrast GINSBERG's rendering.

⁹⁰ Cf. Arab. *ʔitr*, Heb. *ʔašūr*, "footsteps, tread, path." GINSBERG renders "afterwards," comparing Aram. *bātār*, "after," literally, "in the track of."

⁹¹ VIROLLEAUD explains the word correctly, as we think, in his notes, where he follows the Accad. *tebū*, whereas in his translation he follows the Arab. *tābi'a*, "to follow, pursue." MONTGOMERY prefers to render "shalt seek," from Heb. *ba'd*, Arab. *bāḡāḍ*, but the occurrence of *ttb'* elsewhere is against this view.

⁹² For the writer's explanation see *Bulletin*, no. 50, p. 15, n. 14. The same explanation has independently been given since by BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 87, n. 2. BAUER adds a reference to Eth. *ʔaryām*, "heaven," but does not draw what seems to us the correct deduction, that *mrym špn* means properly "the northern heavens." MONTGOMERY compares Syr. *meraiyemā*, name of God as the Exalted One, but this hardly fits the context.

⁹³ So with GINSBERG against the writer's former view; the stem *nbk*, "to flow," is found in the expression *nibké yam* (Job 38:16). The form *mabbik* is naturally *hiṣ'il* participle.

⁹⁴ Our explanation of *thmtm* as dual has been accepted since by VIROLLEAUD (C, p. 144, n.), as well as by GINSBERG and others. The expression *ʔapq thmtm*, "source of the two deeps," is identical with Accad. *naqab apsī*, "source of the deep." Cf. also the writer's remarks about Mesopotamian cosmological parallels *JPOS*, 1932, 196, n. 34-5.

⁹⁵ See above, n. 71. ⁹⁶ See *JPOS*, 1932, n. 85, comparing Arab. *lṣb*.

⁹⁷ See *JPOS*, 1932, n. 83.

⁹⁸ The verb *krkr* has the same meaning "to turn, twist" as Arab. *krkr* (*takarkara*, etc.), and the derived shorter stems *krr* and *krk* in Hebrew (*krr*, *kirker*), Aramaic (*krk*), and Accadian (*karāru*, *karāku*, to wind, twist, etc.).

arrived,⁹⁹ behold, O Creatress of the Gods thou hast come. Truly thou art hungry,¹⁰⁰ and []; truly indeed thou art thirsty,¹⁰¹ and []; eat¹⁰² indeed and drink—food on the tables, food is set [] (37) in jars wine, in golden cups (?) the blood of trees. Behold the love¹⁰³ of El the king holds (supports)¹⁰⁴ thee, the affection of the Bull helps¹⁰⁵ thee.”

Line 40 continues: *wṭn . Rbt . ṽAṭrt ym* (41) *ṭḥmk . ṽEl ḥkm* . *ḥkmt* (42) *ṽm ṽlm . ḥyt . ḥzt* (43) *ṭḥmk . mlkn . ṽAlēy [n .]* *Bṽl* (44) *ṭṭn . wen . dṽlnh* (45) *klnyn . q[št]h nb[ln]* (46) *klnyn . nbl . ksh* (47) *[ṽan]y lyṣh . Tr ṽEl . ṽabh* (48) *ṽEl mlk . dyknnh . yṣh* (49) *[ṽA]ṭrt . wbnh . ṽEl . wṣbrt* (50) *[ṽa]ryh . wn . ṽen . bt . lBṽl* (51) *km ṽelm.wḥzr . kbn . ṽAṭrt* (52) *mṭb ṽEl mṣll.bnh* (53) *mṭb Rbt . ṽAṭrt . ym* (54) *mṭb . Klṭ . knyt* (55) *mṭb.pdry . bt ṽar* (56) *mṣ[l]l ṭly . bt rb* (57) *mṭb ṽarṣ bt yṽb dr* — And the Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea, replied, “El, the wise one, has attributed to thee wisdom, together with eternal life and good fortune;¹⁰⁶ our king has attributed (them) to thee, O Al’ēyân Ba’al; our judge, above whom there is no one,¹⁰⁷ (has attributed them to thee). — — (47) Let the Bull, El, his father, speak; El, the king who created him,¹⁰⁸ shall speak, ‘O Aṭirat and her sons, O Elat and

⁹⁹ 2nd per. fem. instead of 3rd per., as previously rendered.

¹⁰⁰ See above for the relation between *rxb* and the stem *rṣḥ*, “to be hungry.”

¹⁰¹ For the equation *xm* = *zdmīa*, etc., see above.

¹⁰² Or “food indeed and drink,” etc.

¹⁰³ “Love” is better than “hand,” as seen by GINSBERG and MONTGOMERY, since the noun is construed as masculine. Otherwise the meaning “hand” goes well with *ḥss*.

¹⁰⁴ For the meaning of *ḥss* see n. 59, above.

¹⁰⁵ The following remarks will make this rendering of *ṽrr* reasonable from an etymological point of view. In Arabic *i’tarra* means “come as a suppliant to, entreat someone for help.” From the same stem *ṽrr* is also derived Heb. *‘atar*, “pray (for help),” *ne’tar*, “be entreated, have mercy on,” just as *‘td* (Arab. *i’tadda*) is derived from *‘dd* (Arab. *‘adda*). To Heb. *ne’tar* corresponds Accad. *na’ruru*, “go to someone’s help” (Old Babyl. *aldk na’rari aldku*, KRAUS, *MVAG* 36, I, 178; Amarna *innirir*, “he went to [his] help” [for which see the writer’s forthcoming monograph on the Amarna Tablets]; Assy. *nardru*, *nirāru*, “help”). GINSBERG renders *ṽrr* as “arouse,” and *ḥss* as “move.” MONTGOMERY also adopts the Hebrew meaning of *‘orer*.

¹⁰⁶ For this meaning see the discussion of the phonetic value of *z* above.

¹⁰⁷ Lit. “and there does not exist (one) who is above him.”

¹⁰⁸ *Pō’el* of *kūn*, presumably equivalent, as in Hebrew, to the *hif’el*, which means “create” in Phoenician and Hebrew.

the band of her retainers, behold there is no house for Ba'al as (for) the (other) gods, or temenos¹⁰⁹ as (for) the sons of Aṭirat. (52) There is the abode of El, the roofed building of his son, the abode of the Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea, the abode of the Perfect Bride, the abode of my city, (which is) a house of light (?), the roofed building of my district (?), (which is) a great house, the abode of my land, (which is) a spacious house."

(58) *wy^cn Lṭpn ʾEl Dp^e[d]* (59) *h(?)bd . ʾan . ʿnn . ʾAṭrt* (60) *h(?)bd . ʾank . ʾahd ʾult* (61) *hm . ʾamt . ʾAṭrt . ilbn* (62) *lbnt ybn . bt . lB^cl* (V, 63) *km ʾelm . wh^zr . kbn . ʾAṭrt* — And Lṭpn, El Dp^ed, replied, "Am I a slave,¹¹⁰ who groans (?),¹¹¹ O Aṭirat, am I a slave, who takes — — —? Behold the maid¹¹² Aṭirat shall mould bricks, in order that a house may be built for Ba'al as (for) the gods, a temenos as (for) the sons of Aṭirat."

(64) *wt^cn . Rbt . ʾAṭrt ym* (65) *Rbt . ʾelm . lh^kmt* (66) *šbt . dqnk . ltsrk* (67) *rhnt(?) . d[] . b^ertk* (68) *wn ʾap . ʿdn . mīrh* (69) *B^cl . y^cdn . ʿdn . tk(?)t . bgl^t* (70) *w(y)tn . qlh . br^cpt* (71) *šrh . b^ars . brqm* (72) *bt . ʾarzm . ykllnh* (73) *hm . bt . lbnt . y^cmsnh* (74) *lyrgm . bAl^eyn B^cl* (75) *šh . ḥrn . bbhk* (76) *šbi . bgrb . hklk* (77) *tblk . xrm . m^ed . ksp* (78) *gb^cm . mḥmd . ḥrs* (79) *yblk . ʾudr . ʾelqsm* (80) *wbn . bht . ksp . wh^rs* (81) *bht . ṭhrm . ʾeqn^em* — And the Lady, Aṭirat of the Sea, replied, "Let the Lady of the Gods (instruct thee) in wisdom, let thy hoary¹¹³ beard instruct thee,¹¹⁴ — — — to thy breast. Otherwise¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁹ Heb. *ḥaṣer*, "temple temenos, court," *ḥaṣôr*, originally "enclosure"; Arab. *ḥazīrah*, "sheepfold" (see above).

¹¹⁰ The reading is conjectural, so the interpretation must remain doubtful. There does not seem to be any other clear occurrence of the interrogative *h*.

¹¹¹ Very doubtful; cf. *ʿanna*, "to groan" in Syrian Arabic.

¹¹² The appellation *ʾamt* belongs to Aṭirat herself, not to her maid.

¹¹³ The word *šbt* is Heb. *šebah*, "gray hair, hoariness, old age," from a stem which appears also in Arabic, Aramaic, and Assyrian, as was pointed out in the *Bulletin*, and later independently by GINSBERG and MONTGOMERY. The ambiguity of the syntax makes our rendering of the passage uncertain.

¹¹⁴ The verb *tsr* is almost certainly *hiʿil*, *tôsir*, corresponding to the Hebrew *piʿel* of the same verb; cf. Isa. 28:26, *וְיִסְרוּ כְּמִשְׁפַּט אֱלֹהֵיוּ יוֹדֵנוּ*, "And he shall instruct him in judgement (note the construction, identical with that of *lhmt* in our passage), his God shall teach him."

¹¹⁵ This rendering of *wn ʾap* is uncertain; perhaps *wn* means "behold."

will Ba'al give the blessing¹¹⁶ of his rain, the blessing of — — — , (70) and will he give (utter) his voice in the clouds, and his glance¹¹⁷ in the land of lightning?¹¹⁸ A house of cedar, they shall complete it, verily a house of brick, they shall raise it. And let it be announced to Abēyân Ba'al, (75) 'Call a caravan¹¹⁹ into thy sanctuaries, a trading company¹²⁰ into thy temples; the mountains shall yield thee much silver,¹²¹ the hills (shall yield thee) choice gold; they shall bring thee splendid jewels(?).¹²² And build sanctuaries of silver and gold, sanctuaries of the (ritually) pure,¹²³ whom I jealously love(?).'

(82) *šmh . Btl . nt . tčš* (83) *p'nm . wtr . 'ars* (84) *'edk . ltn . pnm* (85) *'m . B'l . mrym . špn* (86) *b'alp . šd . Rbt . kmn* (87) *šhq . Btl . nt tš'u* (88) *gh . wtšh . tšr B'l* (89) *bšrtk . yblt . ytn[t]* (90) *bt . lk . km . 'ahk . whzr* (91) *km . 'aryk . šh . hrn* (92) *bbhtk (etc.) — — šmh . 'Abeyn* (98) *B'l . šh . hrn . bbhtk* (99) *'šbt . bqrb hklh* (100) *yblnn xrm . m'ed . ksp* (101) *gb'm . m(l)hmd . hrš* (102) *yblnn . 'udr 'elqšm* — "Rejoice, O virgin

¹¹⁶ The stem *'dn* means in Hebrew and Aramaic "to be well, joyful, in a state of well-being," as illustrated by numerous derivatives. Arab. *ḡadan*, *ḡudnah* mean "tenderness, delicacy." A more literal rendering of our word might be "(the) state of well-being (caused by something)."

¹¹⁷ The word *šr* is presumably derived from the stem which appears in Hebrew as *šur*, "to see" (perhaps originally "to pierce, penetrate," like Arab. *nsr*, with which it may be etymologically connected).

¹¹⁸ "The land of lightning" can hardly be anything but the Greek *aithēr*, the region of the upper air which the Greeks, from Homer on, considered as being the abode of fire, whence the name. For a divergent interpretation see GINSBERG, *Tarbiz*, 4, 385.

¹¹⁹ Accad. *ḥarrānu*, "road, caravan," whence the name of the city *Ḥarrān* in north-western Mesopotamia.

¹²⁰ Our best suggestion for *'šbt* is that it is derived from a stem *'šb* = Arab.-Aram. *'šb*, "to bind, unite." After *'ayin* there is much interchange of *s* and *š*, particularly in the Arabic dialects. Cf. Arab. *'uṣbah*, "band, company." — MONTGOMERY's explanation of *hrn* is at variance with the laryngal, since Heb. *ḥor* is identical etymologically with Arab. *ḥurr*. GINSBERG's interpretation is most improbable, though phonetically satisfactory. The expression *šh hrn*, etc., is closely parallel to *šh 'ahh*, etc., in VI, 44.

¹²¹ So, against our translation in *Bulletin*, no. 50, with GINSBERG.

¹²² Lit. "the splendour of jewels(?)." The latter meaning is conjectural; the word is perhaps foreign, like Heb.-Egypt. *elgabīš*, Accad. *algamēšu*, "rock-crystal(?)."

¹²³ The interpretation of this passage is difficult, though the words seem clear.

‘Anat, (whose) feet tread,¹²⁴ and the earth is watered!¹²⁵ Behold thou shalt direct (thy) course to the Lord of the heights of the north, with an ox of the field of the Lady of Cummin(?).¹²⁶ (87) Smile, O virgin ‘Anat, thou shalt raise (thy) voice, and shalt speak, bringing good tidings to Ba'al, ‘I have brought thee good tidings; I have given thee a house as (for) thy brethren, and a temenos as (for) thy companions. Call a caravan into thy sanctuaries, (etc.) — —’ ” (97) Al'êyân Ba'al rejoiced; he called a caravan into his sanctuaries, a trading company (?) into his temples; the mountains yielded much silver, the hills (yielded) choice gold; they yielded splendid jewels(?).

Lines 103–5 are difficult. Since 104–5 is clearly, as we have pointed out before, a catch-line with instructions to the narrator,¹²⁷ while 103 evidently belongs with 106 and following, the most reasonable solution appears to be that 103 should follow 104–5, as follows:

(104) *wtb lmspr . . kt'akn* (105) *xlmm* (— —) (103) *yakl* .(!) *Ktr . wHss* — And return to the narrative (which begins): When thou dost send messengers (?) (and ends): They shall give Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs to eat.

This rearrangement restores a logical order, and shows that a long episode intervenes between lines 102 and 103, an episode beginning with the words, “When thou dost send messengers(?),” and ending with “They shall give Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs to eat.” The episode is unfortunately lost, but the next one begins with preparations to feed Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs:

(106) *’ahr . mxy . Ktr . wHss* (107) *št . ’alp . qdmh . mr’a* (108) *wtk . pnh . t’db . ks’u* (109) *wyttb . lymn . ’Al’eyn* (110) *Bcl . ’d . lhm . š[ty . ’elm]* — After Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs had arrived,

¹²⁴ The verb *d’š* is evidently identical with Heb.-Arab. *š’d*, “to tread, walk,” as pointed out by A. BERGMAN, and is probably also the same as Arab. *d’š*, with the same sense. Such transposed doublets are common in verbs containing both dentals and sibilants. For the interchange of *s* and *š* with *’ayin* cf. n. 120. The reading *p’nm*, “feet,” due partly to BANETH and partly to the writer, is now accepted by VIROLLEAUD; see *Syria*, XIV, 147, n. 2.

¹²⁵ The verb is *hof’al*, as pointed out above; cf. Heb. *hôrâ*, “to water.”

¹²⁶ The noun *kmm* may be Heb. *kammôn*, Accad. *kamûnu*; for the plant and its use see DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte*, II, 188, 290.

¹²⁷ See also, BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 101, and now GINSBERG, *ad loc.*; for *mispar*, “narrative,” see Jud. 7:15.

they set an ox before¹²⁸ him, a fat one, and directly before¹²⁹ him a chair was prepared, and they made him sit at the right of Al'êyân Ba'al, until [the gods] had eaten and drunk.

(111) [w]y^{en} . 'A[beyn . B'l] — — (114) ḥš . rmm . ḥk[lm]
(115) ḥš . bhtn . tbn[n(?)] (116) ḥš . trmmn . ḥk[lm] (117) btk .
srrt . špn (118) 'alp . šd 'ald bt (119) Rbt . kmn . hkl — And
Al'êyân Ba'al replied, " — — — Take note,¹³⁰ raise the temples; take
note, the sanctuaries shalt thou build; take note, thou shalt raise
the temples in the heart (?) of the north." — — —

(120) [w]y^{en} . Ktr . wHss (121) šm^c . b'Albeyn B'l (122) bn .
lRkb . rpt (123) bl . 'ašt . urbt . bbh[tm] (124) ḥln . bqr b .
hklm (125) wy^{en} . 'Albeyn B'l (126) 'al . tšt . urbt . b[bh[tm]
(127) [ḥln] . bqr b . ḥk[lm] — And Kôtar-and-Ḥasis replied, "Hearken
to me, O Al'êyân Ba'al, give heed¹³¹ to me, O Rider on the Clouds,
truly I will set a lattice¹³² in the sanctuaries, a window in the
temples." (125) And Al'êyân Ba'al replied, "Thou shalt not set a
lattice in the sanctuaries, (nor) a window in the temples."

After a lacuna of two or three lines, col. VI begins with a
continuation of the colloquy between Al'êyân and Kôtar: (1) w^{yn} .
K[tr] . wH[s] (2) tīb . B'l . l[hwty] (3) tn . rgm . K[tr] . wHss
(4) šm^c . m^c . b'Albeyn B'l (5) bl . 'ašt . urbt . bbh[tm] (6) ḥln .
bqr[b] . ḥk[lm] — And Kôtar-and-Ḥasis replied, "Thou shalt respond,
O Ba'al, to my word(s), repeat the utterance of Kôtar-and-Ḥasis.^{132a}
Hearken to me, O Al'êyân Ba'al, truly I will set a lattice in the
sanctuaries, a window in the temples." In lines 7-17 the colloquy
is repeated, with variations, but the text is badly damaged. In lines

¹²⁸ Aram. *qodām*, Arab. *quddām*.

¹²⁹ Cf. Arab. *baina yadaihi*, "directly before him."

¹³⁰ VIROLLEAUD's rendering "hâte-toi" is hardly possible, since the laryngal
in Heb. *ḥūš*, Accad. *ḥāšu* is ḥ. We have doubtfully connected the word with
Arab. *ḥassa*, "to notice, feel, see" (and possibly Accad. *ḥiāšu*, "see," if a West-Semitic
loan-word, which may be the case, since the word occurs only in vocabularies).

¹³¹ So, with DUSSAUD, *RHR* 105, 297, n. 4. So also now GINSBERG.

¹³² The vocalization *urbt* is very interesting, since it is probably secondary
to Heb. *arubbah*, originally **arūbatu*; see the close parallel in Arabic and
Accadian discussed by the writer in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 17 (1920), 174 f.

^{132a} Contrast the writer's earlier interpretation in *Bulletin*, no. 50, with which
BAUER's later, but independent rendering, *ZAW*, 1933, 100, ad 26, agrees.
GINSBERG differs somewhat.

18-21 there is mention twice of "Lebanon and its trees (*Lbnn . w'šh*)" and of "its choice cedars (*mḥmd . 'arzḥ*)."

Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs goes on to give a rather surprising order for the destruction of the old temples by fire, a command which has been understood by the first commentators to refer to some obscure ritual:

(22) *tš't .] išt . bbhtm* (23) *nblat . bhklm* (24) *hn[ym . wtn . vekl* (25) *išt . bbhtm . nblat* (26) *bhklm . tlt . rbc ym* (27) *vekl . išt . bbhtm* (28) *nblat . bhklm* (29) *ymš . tdt . ym . vekl* (30) *išt . bbhtm nblat* (31) *b[— — . hklm . mk* (32) *bšb[ym . td . išt* (33) *bbhtm . nblat . bhklm* (34) *sb . ksp . lqgm . hrš* (35) *nsb . llbnt . —* "Thou shalt set fire in the sanctuaries, flames^{132b} in the temples. Behold, (one) day, a second (day), the fire shall devour the sanctuaries, the flames (shall devour) the temples; a third, a fourth day the fire shall devour the sanctuaries, the flames (shall devour) the temples; a fifth, a sixth day the fire shall devour the sanctuaries, the flames (shall devour) the — — temples. Behold^{132c} (32) for seven days thou shalt throw fire into the sanctuaries, flames into the temples. (34) Turn¹³³ the silver into ingots,¹³⁴ the gold we will turn into bricks."

šmh (36) *'Al'eyn . Bcl . (b)hty bnt* (37) *dt . ksp . hkly . dtm* (38) *hrš . — — tḥ . 'alpm . 'ap* (41) *šen . šql . trm . wmr'a(1)¹³⁵ . 'el(m) . glm . d[* (43) *šnt . 'emr . qmš . l'im* (44) *šh . 'aḥh . bbht . 'a[r]yh* (45) *bqrb hklh . šh* (46) *šbcm . bn . 'Airt* (47) *špq . 'elm . krm . y[m]* (48) *špq . 'elht . ḥprt . ym* (49) *špq . 'elm . 'alpm . y[m]* (50) *špq . 'elht . 'arḥt . ym* (51) *špq . 'elm . kḥtm . y[m]* (52) *špq . 'elht . ks'at . ym* (53) *špq . 'elm . rhbt . ym(1)* (54) *špq . 'elht . dkr[t . ym]* (55) *'d . lḥm . šty . 'el[m]* (56) *wpq . mrxtm . tdt* (57) *bḥrb . mlḥt . qš . —]i . tšty . krp[nm . y]n —*

^{132b} *Nblat* is clearly cognate with Accad. *nablu*, "flame," Eth. *nabal* (ʿanbal-bala, "to flame"). The origin of the final ʾ is obscure.

^{132c} Cf. Egypt. *mk*, "behold," originally "behold thou."

¹³³ For this use of the stem *šbb* see Zech. 14:10.

¹³⁴ VIROLLEAUD (*B*, p. 150) called attention to Accad. *ruqqu*, "metal object," but without utilizing the suggestion. *Ruqqu* is used of copper and silver, so clearly means "ingot" (then generally of "double-axe" form, for tying together), while *libittu*, "brick" is used of gold and silver bricks regularly in the Amarna Tablets and elsewhere.

¹³⁵ The reading of the text is *[m]r'a*, which can hardly be right.

Al'êyân Ba'al rejoiced, "I have built my sanctuaries of silver, my temples of gold — — —."¹³⁶ He slaughtered oxen and also sheep; he spitted (?)^{136a} bulls and fat rams, yearling calves; sheep he strangled (?)¹³⁷ (and) kids.¹³⁸ (44) He called his brethren into his sanctuaries, his companions into his temples; he called the seventy sons of Atirat. (47) He satisfied^{138a} the ram-gods (with food) a day,¹³⁹ he satisfied the ewe-goddesses¹⁴⁰ a day; he satisfied the bull-gods a day, he satisfied the cow-goddesses¹⁴¹ a day; he satisfied the enthroned gods a day, he satisfied the enthroned goddesses a day; he satisfied the gods of the market-places¹⁴² a day, he satisfied the goddesses of the high places (?)¹⁴³ a day - (55) until the gods had eaten and drunk, and the sucklings (?) were satisfied with the breast (?). With a shining (?)¹⁴⁴ sword — — — drink jars of wine.

The first part of col. VII is poorly preserved. In lines 9-14 we read: (9) *tt . lttm . ʔahd . ʿr* (10) *šbʿm . šbʿ . pdr* (11) *tmnym . Bʿl . m[]* (12) *tšʿm . Bʿl . mr[]* (13) *b[]d(?) . Bʿl bqr[b]* (14) *bt .* — (Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs seems to be speaking to Al'êyân Ba'al.) " — — — (9) six and (?) sixty cities do thou take, seventy-seven towns, eighty, O Ba'al, [] ninety, O Ba'al, — — — Ba'al in the sanctuary". (It would appear that Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs is offering Baal towns for his

¹³⁶ Our translation follows that of GINSBERG.

^{136a} Our rendering follows Eth. *saqḏla*, "to hang, impale, crucify" (for the relation of meanings cf. Assy. *ina gaššî alâlu*, "to hang on a stake," i. e., to impale). Cognate is Accad. *šugalulu*, "to hang." "To spit" is "to impale."

¹³⁷ This rendering is based on Heb. *qms*, "to take with the fingers"; cf. Arab. *qmt*, "to bind, garotte," which may be parallel in origin.

¹³⁸ Correctly identified by EPSTEIN and FRIEDRICH with Accad. *lalû*.

^{138a} The verb *špq* is a causative of *pûg*, like Heb. *hefiq*, which is used in parallelism with *hisbiʿ* in Isa. 58:10. So already in part VIROLLEAUD.

¹³⁹ The restoration *ym*, "day," follows MONTGOMERY. The feast of the gods then lasted eight days; cf. MONTGOMERY'S comparison with the duration of the Feast of Tabernacles.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. Arab. (transposed) *ḥarîf*, "sheep," Accad. *ḥurāpu* "young sheep" (SPEISER, after MONTGOMERY, *JAOS* 53, 120).

¹⁴¹ Accad. *arḥu*, "wild-cow," with BANETH.

¹⁴² For another explanation see MONTGOMERY, ad loc.

¹⁴³ The consonants of *dkrt* are etymologically the same as those in Accad. *zikkuratu*, "mountain-peak, temple-tower," which is derived from the stem *zkr-zqr* (partial assimilation to the *r*), "project," Arab. *dkr*, originally "be sharp." as illustrated by the meaning of several derivatives.

¹⁴⁴ The stem *mlḥ* may be a transposed doublet of Arab. *lamaḥa*, "to shine."

cult, i.e., towns in which sanctuaries and temples will be built in his honour.)

wy'n . 'Al'eyn (15) *B'l* . 'ašm . *Ktr bn* (16) *ym* . *Ktr* . *bnm* . 'dt (17) *yptḥ* . *hln* . *bbhtm* (18) 'urbt . *bqrb* . 'hklm . *w[ep]th* . *bdqt* . 'rpt (20) 'l p[k(?)] *Ktr* . *wHss* — And Al'êyân Ba'al replied, "I shall set them (the windows), O Kôtar, son of the sea. O Kôtar, the sons of the assembly¹⁴⁵ shall open a window in the sanctuaries, a lattice in the temples, and I will open a rift in the clouds according to thy(?) command, O Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs."

(21) *šhq* . *Ktr* . *wHss* (22) *yš'u* . 'gh . *wyšh* (23) *lrgmt* . *lk* . *bAl'eyn* . *B'l* . *t[ṭ]bn* . *B'l* (25) *lhwt'y* . *yptḥ* . *hln* . *bbhtm* . 'urbt (27) *bqrb* . *hk[lm]* . *yp[th]* (28) *B'l* . *bdqt* . 'rpt (29) *qlh* . *qds* . *B'l* . *y[tn]* (30) *yiny* . *B'l* — — — (32) [] *xrm* . 'ahšn (33) *rtq* [] (34) *qdm ym* . *bmt* . [] (35) *tṭn* . 'eb . *B'l* . *vehd* (36) *y'rm* . *šn'u* . *Hd* . *gpt* (37) *xr* . — Kôtar-and-Ḥasîs smiled, he raised his voice and spoke, "Truly I declared to thee,¹⁴⁶ to Al'êyân Ba'al, 'Thou shalt respond, O Ba'al, to my word(s); he (Ba'al) shall open a window in the sanctuaries and a lattice in the temples; Ba'al shall open a rift in the clouds, Ba'al shall give (utter) his holy voice. (30) Ba'al shall repeat — — — mountains, I fear^{146a} the — — — (34) before the day of — — — the foes of Ba'al will seize (36) the forests, the enemies of Haddu¹⁴⁷ (will seize) the interior¹⁴⁸ of the mountain(s)."

wy'n . 'Al'eyn (38) *B'l* . 'eb . *Hd* . *lm* . *thš* (39) *lm* . *thš* . *ntq* . *dmrn* (40) 'n . *B'l* . *qdm* . *ydḥ* (41) *ktxš* . 'arz . *bymnh* (42) *bkm* . *yth* . *B'l* . *lbhth* (43) 'umlk . 'obl mlk (44) 'arš . *drkt yštkn* (45) *dll* . 'al . 'el'ak . *lBn* (46) 'elm . *Mt* . 'dd lYdd (47) 'El . *Xzr* . *yqr'a* . *Mt* (48) *bnpšh* . *ystrn Ydd* (49) *bgngnh* . 'ahdy . *dymk* .

¹⁴⁵ Cf. *Bulletin*, no. 50, p. 17, n. 45; the interpretation of the expression is very obscure.

¹⁴⁶ This rendering follows GINSBERG's interpretation.

^{146a} We follow GINSBERG (oral communication) in equating the verb with Arab. *ḥāṣiya*, *yaḥšā*, "to fear." In his third paper he made a mistake in the sibilant, which vitiated his interpretation.

¹⁴⁷ The identification of the group *hd* with the shortened form of the name *Hadad* is due to GINSBERG. For the form cf. Accad. abbreviated *Addu*. In Canaan we also find the contracted name *Zimrida* for **Dimri-Adda* (*Hadda*), so a form *Hadda* is also possible.

¹⁴⁸ For this rendering of *gpt* see below, n. 175.

cl . yelm . lymr'u (51) yelm . wns'm . dyšb' . hmlt . yars' . — And Ab'êyân Ba'al replied, "Why dost thou fear the foes of Haddu, why dost thou fear (their) piercing (?)¹⁴⁹ missiles? The eye of Ba'al is before his hand, when the cedar in his right hand¹⁵⁰ — — — (42) you. Shall Ba'al return to his house? I will be made king,¹⁵¹ I will cause the kings of the earth to be brought,¹⁵² that they may exercise dominion.¹⁵³ (45) I shall not send a guide (?)¹⁵⁴ to Mô't, son of the gods, (nor) a herald^{154a} to Xzr, beloved of El. Mô't shall talk to himself, Yadûd shall hide (49) in his chamber; it is I alone¹⁵⁵ who shall reign over the gods, in order that gods and men may become fat, (it is I alone) who shall satisfy¹⁵⁶ the inhabitants of the earth."

After a break of some length, col. VIII resumes: (1) yidk . yal . ttn . pnm (2) m . xr . Trxzz (3) m . xr , Trmg (4) m . ilm .

¹⁴⁹ It is difficult to separate *dmrn* from the stem *dmr*, which appears in Eth. in the sense "insert, mix," in Arab. as *damara*, "be lost, ruined," also "penetrate," *dammara*, "ruin, destroy," in Syr. as *damirâ*, "marvelous," *tedmortâ*, "miracle," etc. The original sense is presumably "to pierce, penetrate," hence "marvel at" (for the semantic development and several close parallels see *JAOS.* 47, 214, no. 28). The age of the stem in Syria is shown by the name *Tadmor* (which the writer has hitherto considered erroneously as being non-Semitic), now found in a text of Tiglath-pileser I, about 1100 B.C., as *Tadmar*.

¹⁵⁰ GINSBERG has observed a parallel in a New Kingdom papyrus, quoted by GRESSMANN, "Ba'al smites thee with the cedar that is in his hand."

¹⁵¹ The form is *hof'al*; GINSBERG considers it passive *qal*, but the syntax is awkward. The rendering of this passage in *Bulletin*, no. 50, is quite erroneous.

¹⁵² Lit., "I will cause (one) to bring the kings," etc.

¹⁵³ The word *drkt*, "dominion" (recognized by VIROLLEAUD and others) is clearly derived from the causative of *drk*; cf. Heb. *hidrik*, Accad. *šudruku*, both meaning "to tread, force, bend." Accad. *darkatu*, "future," is probably quite different in origin. It is not impossible that the name *Derketô*, variant of *Atargatis*, is really an appellation of the latter, meaning primarily "dominion." *Ystn* = Accad. *istakanû*.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. Arab. *dalil*, "guide."

^{154a} Heb. *ôded*, name of two prophets in II Chr., is supposed by some to be a common noun, meaning some kind of prophet.

¹⁵⁵ The word *yahdy* corresponds exactly to Accad. *êdiššiya*, **êdênû'a* in meaning.

¹⁵⁶ The introductory *d* shows that the clause with *dymlk*, not with *lymr'u*. For another explanation of the latter see MONTGOMERY, *ad loc.*, but the root-meaning is precisely "be big, strong, fat"; for the development of meaning and several parallels see *AJSL* 34, 235, no. 61.

xšr . *arš* (5) *ša* . *xr* . *l* . *ydm* (6) *hīb* . *lžr* . *rhtm* (7) *wd* :
bt hptt (8) *arš* . *tspr* . *byrdm* . *arš* (10) *idk* . *al* . *ttn* (11) *pnm* .
tk . *qrth* (12) *hmry* . *mk* . *ks'u* (13) *tbih* . *hē* . *arš* (14) *nhlth* .
wnxr (15) *t(?)n* . *elm* . *al* (16) *tgrb* . *lBn* . *elm* (17) *Mt* . *al* .
ydbkm (18) *k'emr* . *bph* (19) *klbi* . *bibr nqn* . *ihvan* (21) *Nrt* .
elm . *špš* (22) *šhrrt* . *ba* (23) *šmm* . *byd* . *Mdd* . *elm* . *Mt* .
balp . *šd* . *Rbt* . *kmn* . *lp'n* . *Mt* (27) *hbr* . *wql* (28) *tšthwy* .
wkbd hwt . *wrgm* (30) *lBn* . *elm* . *Mt* (31) *tny* . *lydd* (32) *el*
Xzr thm (33) *Alēyn* . *Bēl* (34) [*hw*]t . *alēy* . *q[rdm]* — — — —
 "Behold ye shall not direct your course to Mount *Trxzz*¹⁵⁷ nor to
 Mount *Trmg*,¹⁵⁸ nor to the mounds — — — the earth. (5) Raise a
 mountain on your hands,¹⁵⁹ a forest¹⁶⁰ upon (your) palms,¹⁶¹ and
 descend to the house of — — —¹⁶² of the earth (underworld),¹⁶³ that
 ye may be counted among those who descend to the earth (under-

¹⁵⁷ Note the South-Anatolian (Luyyan) appearance of this proper name, with initial *t(a)r* and final *(a)z*.

¹⁵⁸ This name is also non-Semitic, perhaps representing a South-Anatolian *Srmg(k)*.

¹⁵⁹ This episode reminds one of the late rabbinic *midraš* which describes Og's effort to crush the Israelite camp by carrying a mountain. The purpose of the exploit is unclear.

¹⁶⁰ Accad. *halbu*, synonym of *kištu*, "forest." Since the cuneiform lists of synonyms contain many non-Accadian words, our term may well be West-Semitic.

¹⁶¹ Arab. *rāḥah*, Eth. *ṛāḥ* (pl. *ṛerdāḥāt*), "palm of the hand." This explanation (first given in the *Bulletin*, no. 50) has been accepted by VIROLLEAUD (*C. p.* 144, n. 1) and others.

¹⁶² The term *bt hptt* has been happily identified with Heb. *bēt (ha-) ḥofšit* (vocalization uncertain) by VIROLLEAUD, but the meaning of the latter is uncertain. That it does not mean "house of detention," as one might infer from the fact that Uziah is said to have stayed there after he became a leper, is certain from the newly discovered original sibilant, since the word for "bind, imprison" was *hbs* in Arab., *hbš* in Accad. (see the writer's discussion *JPOS*, 1926, 107). We would now suggest "subterranean house, basement," as the real meaning, and connect the stem *hpt* with Arab. *hbt*, "be low, base, vile," since the stem *hbt* shares several meanings and derivatives with *hpt*, "to humble oneself," and *hbt* means "tract of low ground." *Hpt* for *hbt* is a case of simple assimilation, while *hbt* for *hbt* is an equally simple dissimilation. The meaning suggested for our term fits both the biblical reference and our passage remarkably well.

¹⁶³ For the interchange of the meanings "earth" and "underworld" cf. Accad. *eršitu*, which also shares the two senses.

world). (10) Behold ye shall not direct your course (to Mô't, son of the gods);¹⁶⁴ spurn¹⁶⁵ the midst of his city. Behold the throne on which he sits, the filth of the earth is its portion (destiny).¹⁶⁶ — — — (16) Ye shall not approach Mô't, son of the gods, lest he make you as a lamb in his mouth, as a kid¹⁶⁷ in the — — — of his — — —. Špš, the luminary of the gods, will be broken¹⁶⁸ (as) a — — —¹⁶⁹ in the hand of Mô't, beloved of the gods. With an ox of the field of the Lady of Cummin (?), at the feet of Mô't (27) fall down and attend (?),¹⁷⁰ ye shall bow down and honour him (I). And announce to Mô't, son of the gods, repeat to Xzr, beloved of El, "Al'êyân Ba'al has decreed the word(s), 'I am mighty; the axe — — —.'"

¹⁶⁴ The words in parentheses stand for 'm bn 'elm Mt, which has dropped out of the text, as pointed out by VIROLLEAUD (B, 161).

¹⁶⁵ Hmry, "spurn, avoid," like Heb. המרה.

¹⁶⁶ With ḥḥ compare Accad. ḥaḥḥu, "filth, slaver." Nhl't does not have here the secondary Hebrew sense of "inheritance," but rather the primary meaning. MONTGOMERY offers a very interesting suggestion for ḥḥ, which he takes to be the land of Ḥaḥu, in JAOS, 53, 284, but the writer is not yet ready to accept it,

¹⁶⁷ See n. 138, above.

¹⁶⁸ The verb ḥt is almost certainly to be identified either with Arab. ḥt or with Accad. ḥatû, or with both. The basic meaning of Arab. ḥt, which occurs in early Arabic poetry and in the lexicographers, is not clear, since it seems to depend on the preposition which follows. Accad. ḥatû, means "to break, smash," used of a wall, of a hostile army, etc.; synonyms are ḥulluqu, "destroy," ṣuppuḥu, "break up," etc. The Arab. sense, "keep (someone) away (from something)," may perhaps be explained by the Eng. "break someone of a habit, etc.," i.e., keep him from doing something, especially since the Arab. stem tbr (Heb. šbr, "to break") has the same sense. The Arab. reflexive senses. "be overcome with embarrassment, fear," may also mean primarily "be broken," i.e., lose one's self-control. Our verb thus means probably "to break, crush," used of some small creature (see next note).

¹⁶⁹ Since VIROLLEAUD (C, p. 146) has shown that the word šhrrt means some kind of bird, and that šhrrt Da šmm probably means "šhrrt not of heaven," we must perhaps look for some small terrestrial animal, easy to crush (see preceding note). Etymologically, there are two possibilities known to the writer: Arab. šu'urrah "pellet of dung rolled by the dung-beetle (dju'al)," and perhaps originally the latter itself (the partial assimilation of ḥ to the following r is simple); Accad. šurarû, šurarîtu (possibly šurarû, etc.), perhaps meaning "lizard" (LANDSBERGER suggests "salamander" ZA 6, N.F., 296), but cf. šurar zê, "dung-šurarû." Since Špš was the sun it is tempting to recall the Egyptian representations of the sun as a pellet of dung rolled by a celestial dung-beetle. However, we lack any convincing evidence in favour of a definite meaning, so it is better to leave the word untranslated. ¹⁷⁰ Cf. JPOS, 1932, 197, n. 40.

THE MYTH OF THE GRACIOUS GODS

The tablet recently published by VIROLLEAUD is not only elliptic and allusive in style; it is also preserved in a kind of abstract. The first 28 lines seem to represent extracts (probably from the beginning of episodes or cantos); there are nine quotations, each separated from the adjacent ones by horizontal lines. Lines 30-75 may possibly be continuous, since there is a certain connection of ideas between its parts, but it is hard to say, and the omission of horizontal lines in this section of the text may not signify anything except increasing carelessness on the part of the scribe. The text begins: (1) ʔeqrʔa . ʔElm . n[ʕmm] (2) wysmm . — — (7) Šlm[] . Šlm . mlkt . ʕrbm . wtnnm — I invoke the Gracious and Beautiful Gods. — — (7) "O Šalem, thou shalt exercise (?), O Šalem, the kingship over nomads¹⁷¹ and settled folk."¹⁷²

The next fragment is : (8) Mt . wŠr . ytb . bdh . ḫt . tkl . bdh (9) ḫt . ʔulmn . yzbrnn . zbrm ḡpn (10) y[s]mdnn . šmdm . ḡpn . yšql . šdmth (11) km ḡpn — "Môt-and-Šar will sit down, in his hand the staff of childlessness, in his hand the staff of widowhood.^{172a} Verily he shall prune the vine, verily he shall tie up¹⁷³ the vine;

¹⁷¹ For the basic meaning of the term ʕArab see M. HARTMANN, *Die Arabische Frage*, pp. 113-5, where the meaning "nomad is convincingly established.

¹⁷² This rendering is based on the usual combination of Heb. *šaʕanan*, "settled, at rest," with Syr. *šainā*, (Canaanite loan-word?) which means both "peace" and "cultivated land." Cf. BROCKELMANN, *Lex. Syri.*², p. 773 b, and note that Avestan *šayana* and Armen. *šen* are possibly Aram. loan-words. The same contrast between nomads and settled folk appears, according to the generally accepted view, in the *bʕrrm* and *mškbm* of the stela of Kilamuwa of Šamʕal (second half of ninth century B.C.). Cf. also Arab. ʕarab and *fellāh*, etc.

^{172a} VIROLLEAUD has very happily combined *tkl* and *ʔulmn* with Heb. *šekōl we-ʔalmōn*, Isa. 47:9. For the relation between Heb. *ʔalmōn*, and North Canaanite *ʔulmān* cf. that existing between Heb. *šalmōn*, "gift," and Amarna *šulmān*, as well as the remarks of the writer, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 7, 168.

¹⁷³ If this rendering is correct, it follows that the North Canaanites were accustomed to tie up their vines in the fashion now known as European, contrary to the later practice in Palestine and Syria. For the symbolism of the vine in connection with the sphere of activity controlled by the god of death cf. also the biblical imagery attached to divine judgement (Isa. 63:1-6; Rev. 14:18 f.).

he shall hang up (?)¹⁷⁴ his earth like a vine." — The following fragments are much briefer and less instructive, and the lack of adequate context makes them all more or less unintelligible.

With line 30 we reach a long consecutive (?) text again: — — —
gp ym . wys[m(?)]d . gp . thm (31) [] *mš'ltm . mš'ltm . lr'eš . 'agn*
 (32) *hlh (?) lšhl hlh . trm . hlh . tšh . 'ad 'ad* (33) *whlh . tšh .*
'um . 'um . verkm . yd . 'El . kym (34) *w . yd . 'El . kmdb . 'ark .*
yd . 'El . kym (35) *w . yd . 'El . kmdb . yqh . 'El . mš'ltm* (36)
mš'ltm . lr'eš . 'agn . yqh . ys(t) . bbth — " — — — the heart (midst)¹⁷⁵
 of the sea, and he shall bind (?)¹⁷⁶ the heart of the deep (31) — — —
 Two handfuls,¹⁷⁷ two handfuls to the source¹⁷⁸ of the reservoir (32)
 — — — thou shalt raise; henceforth (?)¹⁷⁹ shalt thou cry, 'My father,
 my father',¹⁸⁰ (33) and henceforth (?) shalt thou cry, 'My mother,
 my mother'. The arms of El are as long as the sea, and the arms

¹⁷⁴ See n. 136a for the etymological explanation, and n. 173 for the interpretation.

¹⁷⁵ The etymological explanation of the word *gp* is rather complex, as will be seen by looking up the relevant words in any standard Semitic lexicon. VIROLLEAUD compares it plausibly with *gpt* in *B*, VII, 36, and both with Jewish Aram. *gēfā*, "bank, shore" (cf. *עַל גִּפְתָּ נָחַר*, Ben Sira, 40:16). There can, however, be no doubt that the latter is itself to be vocalized *geppā*, *gippā*, and is identical with Syr. *geppā*, "wing, arm" (the development of meaning from "wing" to "side, edge, bank" is also found in Heb. *kanaf*, Jewish Aram. *gadpā*, etc., etc.). The latter, however, is derived from Aram. *gappā*, "wing," itself a construction of *gadpā*, "wing," which occurs in several Aramaic dialects. The situation is further complicated by the fact that Heb. *kanaf*, "wing, side," appears in Accad. as *kappu*, and that there are two other Accad. words meaning "wing": *agappu* (Heb. *'agaf?*) and *gappu* (which may be divergent orthography of *kappu*, or possibly a blend of *kappu* and *agappu*, the etymology of which is obscure). If we knew what the expression *עַל-גִּפְתָּ מְרַמֵּי קָרָה* in Prov. 9:3 means, we should be able to decide the meaning in our passage, but the passage is very obscure (incidentally it may be remarked that the curious paganizing allegory of Wisdom in Prov. 9 is almost certainly of Phoenician origin, since there are a number of words and phrases of pure North-Canaanite appearance, such as the expression just cited, the words *lhm*, "to eat," *hkmt*, "wisdom," *qrt*, "city," etc.). We are, therefore, strongly disposed to prefer an etymological connection with Arab. *djauf*, "interior, heart," from the proto-Hebrew equivalent of which is derived *gūf*, "person, body." For *gp ym* compare then Heb. *leb yam*, "heart, middle of the sea," which is frequent in the Bible.

¹⁷⁶ VIROLLEAUD'S *š[ḡ]d* is much less probable; see above.

¹⁷⁷ Heb. *so'al*.

¹⁷⁸ "Head" = "source".

¹⁷⁹ Heb. *hale'ah?*

¹⁸⁰ Caritative; cf. Sum. *adda*, Hurrian *atta*, etc.

of El as the flood;¹⁸¹ the love¹⁸² of El is as long as the sea, and the love of El as the flood. El shall take two handfuls, (36) two handfuls to the source of the reservoir he shall take, he shall pl[ace] in his house."

(37) ʔEl . ḥṯh . nḥt . ʔEl . ymn . mṯ . ydh . yšʔu (38) yr . šmmh . yr . bšmm . šr . yḥrṯ yšt (39) lḫm . ʔEl . ʔattm . kypṯ . hm . ʔattm . tšhn (40) y mt . mt . nḥtm . ḥṯk . mmnnm . mṯ ydk (41) h[l .] . šr . ṯhrr . bšṯ . šḥrrt . lḫmm (42) ʔa[t]m . ʔatt . ʔEl ʔatt . ʔEl . wlmh . whm (43) ʔa[t]m . tšhn . y . ʔad ʔad . nḥtm . ḥṯk (44) mmnnm . mṯ ydk . hl . šr . ṯhrr . bšṯ (45) wšḥrrt . lḫmm . btm . bt . ʔEl . bt . ʔEl (46) wlmh . whn . ʔattm . tšhn . y . mt mt (etc.) — El's sceptre is down,¹⁸³ he lowers¹⁸⁴ the staff¹⁸⁵ of his hand; he raises the early rain (?) heavenward,^{185a} (he raises) the early rain (?) in heaven. A bird he plucks, he places on the coals. When El has seduced the two women, behold, the two women cry, (40) "O my husband, my husband, thy sceptre is down, the staff of thy hand is lowered. Behold this bird¹⁸⁶ shalt thou roast at the fire, and (this) bird (?)¹⁸⁷ at the coals. The two women are the wives of El, the wives of El and his servant." Behold (43)

¹⁸¹ The word *māb* must naturally be derived from the common Semitic stem *qwb*, "to flow," found in Heb. (*zūb*), Aram. (*dūb*), Arab. (*dāba*), Accad. (*zābu*); cf. Accad. *Zā'ibum* (later *Zāb*), "the floodier."

¹⁸² The difference in translation of *yā* is due to the difference in the gender of the verb. It is, however, possible that all occurrences of *yā* are to be rendered "hand" in this passage, and that there is some morphological or syntactic peculiarity which escapes us.

¹⁸³ The form *nḥt* is either stative (intransitive perfect) *naḥit* or possibly passive participle *naḥut*. The former is much more probable.

¹⁸⁴ The stem *mn* is clearly identical with Arab. *manna*=*mallā* (by dissimilation), "be weary, faint"—Heb. *ml*, "to fade." For the original root *ml* and the basic meaning, "to sink, subside," cf. Arab. *māla*, "to decline, incline." The verb is *pi'el*, *yamanninu*, or the like.

¹⁸⁵ Heb. *maṭṭē*, "staff," with GINSBERG (orally).

^{185a} So with VIROLLEAUD; if correct the orthography proves that the Heb. directive *hē* stands for an original *ha*, or the like.

¹⁸⁶ It is not impossible that the whole description refers to the *hieros gamos*, and that the strange imagery is erotic. In ancient and modern oriental imagery both staff and bird may mean penis; the sinking of the staff may then refer to the subsidence of the penis after sexual intercourse, while the roasting of the bird may refer to male sexual excitement (cf. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, 5, 119 b). ¹⁸⁷ Cf. VIROLLEAUD's observations, C, p. 146.

the two women cry, O my father, my father, thy sceptre is down, the staff of thy hand is lowered. Behold, this bird shalt thou roast at the fire, and (this) bird (?) at the coals. The two daughters^{187a} are the daughters of El, the daughters of El (46) and his servant." Behold the two women cry, "O my husband, my husband, (etc.)."

The text continues: (49) *yhbr . špthm . ys[q?]* (50) *hn. špthm. mtqtm . klrnm (?)* (51) *[b]m . nšq . whr . bḥbq . ḥmḥmt . tqtl[nš]n . w(?)* (52) *tldn . Šhr . wšlm . rgm . bEl . ybl . ʔat[ty]* (53) *ʔEl . y[l]t . mh.ylt . yldy . Šhr . wšl[m]* (54) *šū . ʿdb . lšps . rbt . wlkbkbm . kn[]* — He stoops down, their lips he kisses(?)¹⁸⁸. behold their lips are sweet, sweet as *lurimtu* (?). In kissing there is conception, in embracing is fecundity (?),¹⁸⁹ (so) they are impregnated¹⁹⁰ and bear Šaḥar and Šalem. He brings the announcement to El, "My two wives,¹⁹¹ O El, have given birth." "To what have they given birth?" "To my two children, Šaḥar and Šalem." Bear an offering to the lady Šps and to the stars — — —.

After a repetition of the description of sexual intercourse already given in 49–51, the text goes on to mention "five" (*ḥmš*), perhaps referring to additional births, making seven in all, which may be included under the designation "Gracious Gods" found in line 58 (*tqtšn . wšldn . tld(?)* [*ʔelm .*] *nʿmm* — "they are impregnated and give birth, they give birth to the Gracious Gods"). The line 58–9 = 61, "I shall set apart a day (when) the sons of the sea (?) shall take vengeance on — — —" (*ʔagzr ym.bn ym . ynqm . bʿap . šd . Št*¹⁹²),

^{187a} This translation is due to GINSBERG (orally), and is certainly correct.

¹⁸⁸ VIROLLEAUD supplies ʔu with line 55; we prefer to supply q and to consider the ʔu in 55 as a scribal error, due to the fact that the scribe, having written ys, completed the word as the common ysʔu.

¹⁸⁹ For the derivation of *ḥmḥmt* see the writer's observations on various forms of the root *ḥm* with this meaning, *Recueil de Travaux*, 40, 71–2.

¹⁹⁰ In Eth. *qandša* means "to leap"; note that "leap" and "impregnate" are synonymous in many languages (German *bespringen*, Accad. *šahātu*, etc.).

¹⁹¹ VIROLLEAUD's rendering "my wife" is impossible, since the writing of the y shows that we must pronounce ʔattāya, not ʔatti. Similarly, *yldy* means "my two children."

¹⁹² Since, as VIROLLEAUD observes, there seems to be parallelism between *Aṭirat* and *Št*, the latter may possibly represent Egypt. *Št*, Isis. The cuneiform transcription *Êse* and the Grec *Îsis* show, however, that there was an initial ʔalef in the later pronunciation. An identification with Egypt. Seth is, of course, impossible, since the latter name was then pronounced *Sutaḥ*, later *Sēteh*, *Sēth*.

is extremely obscure, nor is our task of interpretation eased by the insertion of the passage 59-60 which corresponds word for word to 52-3, except that the Gracious Gods take the place of Šaḥar and Šalem. The following passage is even more obscure, but is so important that we shall attempt an interpretation: *špt* (62) *ḥarš* . *špt lšmm* . *wlrb* . *bphm* . *sr* . *šmm* (63) *wdg bym* . *wndd* [] . *ydb* . *oymn* (64) *ošm'al* . *bphm* . *wl[d] šb'ny* . *att* . *Etrḥ* (65) *ybn* . *ašl(?) d*¹⁹⁸ *šu* . — — — *tk* . *mdbr qdš* (66) *im* . *igrgr* . *ḥabnm* . *wlšm* . *šb'* . *šnt* (67) *tmt* . *imn* . *nqpt* . *d* . *elm* . *n'mm* . *tlkn* (68) *šd* . *tšdn* . *p'at* . *mdbr* . *wngš* . *hm* . *Nxr* (69) *mdr'* . — An incantation¹⁹⁴ for the earth, an incantation for heaven, and (one) for that which enters their mouth, (whether) bird of heaven or fish in the sea — — — either¹⁹⁵ right or left in their mouth. And bear(?) twice seven.¹⁹⁶ O two(?) wives of *Etrḥ*. — — — shall be built — — — midst of the pure desert.¹⁹⁷ There shall they be clients (?)¹⁹⁸ to stones and trees for seven full years, (67) eight

¹⁹⁸ VIROLLEAUD supplies *d*, yielding *šdd*, which may be right, though the word can hardly have any connection with the Philistine city of *Ašdōd*.

¹⁹⁴ Accad. *šiptu*; cf. the standing formula, *šiptu: neš šame lū-tamāta neš eršiti lū-tamāta*, "Incantation: by heaven be thou exorcised, by earth be thou exorcised." This interpretation is rendered very uncertain by the similar passage quoted by VIROLLEAUD, C, p. 150, n. 1, which is correctly explained by GINSBERG (oral communication) as meaning that the monster opens its mouth so that the upper jaw touches heaven and the lower jaw earth, whereupon *Ba'al* enters into its interior by the mouth (note the curious parallel to the Jonah motive!). The syntax of our passage makes such an interpretation very difficult, however.

¹⁹⁵ This rendering is a *pis aller*, based on Heb. *šd* (often used twice, as *šu* here), Arab. *šau*, Accad. *š*, etc. My former suggestion that the words are elative has been made impossible by the discovery of the vowel *u*, *o* (see above, introduction).

¹⁹⁶ DUSSAUD (*RHR* 108, 14, n. 1) has correctly compared Heb. שבענה, Job 42:13, but his remark that it cannot be a dual meaning "fourteen," because Job 1:2 assigns Job seven sons, is hardly convincing, in view of the fact that Job is said to have had at the end just twice as many sheep, camels, cattle, and asses as he possessed originally. The number of daughters remained unchanged, however. The form *šb'ny* must be vocalized approximately *šab'dud̄y* (*a*).

¹⁹⁷ This rendering of the expression *mdbr qdš* is made probable by the common cuneiform phrase *šeru ašru ellu*, "the desert, a pure place." The alternative rendering, "Desert of Qadeš," is highly improbable, though linguistically satisfactory.

¹⁹⁸ The verb *grgr* may be denominative from *gēr*, "client," Arab. *djār*, etc.

olive-harvests (?),¹⁹⁹ while the Gracious Gods roam the plain, wander over the confines of the desert. Behold their hunter (?) is the Protector²⁰⁰ of the Plantation.

In the final lines of the tablet the Gracious Gods appear to be asking for food and drink from their hunter(?), *Nxr-mdr*, who apparently promises it to them on certain conditions, which remain obscure. The significance of the food eaten by the Gracious Gods during their infancy seems to be referred to in lines 62-3.

The discovery of a number of names and words homonymous with biblical proper names has already led VIROLLEAUD, and especially DUSSAUD, to far-reaching conclusions. Until VIROLLEAUD has published the rest of his material, it is premature to enter into an elaborate discussion; we may content ourselves with a few observations. In our new text we have a reference to the god *Etrh*, who appears in an unpublished poem as *Trh*. VIROLLEAUD gives the relevant passage as follows: *wys'e Trh hdt yb'r lTn 'aith wlNkr mddth k'erby tskn šd km hsn p'at mdr* — And *Trh* rose (as) the new moon, burning (with love) for Sin, his wife, and for Nikkar, his beloved, like a swarm of locusts which covers the field, like hoppers^{200a} (which cover) the edge of the desert. As VIROLLEAUD saw at once, *Trh* is certainly the moon-god, while the Accadian name of the god, *Sin*, appears as that of his first wife, and the Sumerian name of his wife *Ningal*, later pronounced *Nikkal*,^{200b} appears as that of his second wife. It seems to the writer almost certain that *Trh* is to be pronounced *Tōrah*,²⁰¹ for older **Taurah*, Accadian *tūrah*u, "ibex," derived probably from the same stem as *warh*, "moon," and later combined with it again by popular etymology. In other words, the ibex was associated

¹⁹⁹ Cf. Heb. *nōgef zdyit*, "knocking off of the olives."

²⁰⁰ With *Nxr* compare probably Heb. *nōšer*, Arab. *ndzir*, Aram. *nāfōrd* (whence Arab. *nāfūr*), "watchman, guardian, protector, of vines, orchards, etc." See above for a discussion of the phonology of the character *x*.

^{200a} Heb. *ḥasīl*, as already pointed out by DUSSAUD (*RHR* 108, 34, n. 4). The writer had independently come to the same conclusion.

^{200b} So also, however, in the Ugarit texts; see BAUER, *ZAW*, 1933, 100, no. 25. In the oath-formula of the Matī-el inscription of Sudjūn the divine pair *Nkr* (or *Nkd*) and *Kd'h* is mentioned immediately after *Sjin* and *Nikkal*, but these gods cannot unfortunately be identified. GINSBERG translated the whole passage differently (oral communication).

²⁰¹ The writing *ʾE(I)trh* in our text is puzzling: we have no explanation.

with the moon-god partly by popular etymology and partly by association of ideas, just as in the case of the names of Rimmôn, storm-god (properly "the thunderer," from *rm*, but secondarily connected with *rimmôn*, "pomegranate"), Dagôn, grain-god (originally *Dagan*, whence Heb. *dagan*, "grain," and secondarily combined with *dag*, "fish"), and Dôd, god of fertility (properly the storm-god Dat, but secondarily combined with *dôd*, "love"). In Mesopotamia the ibex represented Enki-Ea, god of fertility, who is often addressed in Sumerian as *dara* = *tûrahu*.

From this new evidence it would seem that Sin was originally a Semitic moon-goddess, who became masculine in Mesopotamia because of the Sumerian moon-god Enzu or Nanna, naturally identified with her. The Old Assyrian (Cappadocian) spelling *ZU-en* or *ZU-in* is thus to be read *Sin*, and does not prove a Sumerian pronunciation *Zuen* for *Enzu*, as has been supposed. *Nikkar* is a very ancient variant of *Nikkal* (which was also borrowed without change of the final consonant²⁰²), and can hardly have anything to do with the divine name *Nkr*(?) of the Sudjîn stela of Matîc-el. For the change of liquids in a Sumerian loanword, cf. perhaps the modification of *Šu'ara* to **Šu'âl* (whence *Še'ôl*) in Canaanite.²⁰³ The true Syrian name for the moon-god in the third and early second millennium was *Yerah* (from *Warh*), written *Erah*, *Arah*, and *Irah* in Cappadocian and Babylonian inscriptions of about 2000 B.C. *Tôrah* is only a variant of this name, as has been pointed out. The name of the biblical Teraḥ (properly to be pronounced *Tôrah*) is naturally identical, but probably goes back to a personal name meaning "ibex," preserved as a disused tribal name in the place-name *Til ša Turahi*.²⁰⁴ As DUSSAUD pointed out years ago, the name survived in Safaitic (North-Arabian) to a Post-Christian period.

The idea that the waxing moon represents a god in lust, or an animal in rut is common in the ancient world, as the writer pointed out in connection with the discussion of certain Mesopotamian ideas; see *JAOS* 39 (1919), 87, and 40, 332 ff. The curious simile

²⁰² The Egypt. form *Nkr*, mentioned in a magical text of the New Empire, is due to the fact that there was then no *l* in Egyptian. See also n. 200b, above.

²⁰³ See the writer's discussion in his paper "Mesopotamian Elements in Canaanite Eschatology" in the *Haupt Anniversary Volume*.

²⁰⁴ See *JBL* 43, 386, with the literature there cited.

of the locusts is presumably due to the all-pervasive tenacity of these insects and to the intensity of their attack on vegetation.

We still have exceedingly interesting and important texts among the unpublished tablets from Râs eš-Šamrah, several of which M. VIROLLEAUD gave the writer a chance to examine in Paris last June, a courtesy for which we wish to thank him again. The discovery of a short inscription in the same character at Beth-shemesh in southern Palestine, alluded to above, also gives one renewed hope that more such tablets will be found outside of Ugarit. There can be no ground for pessimism among students of Syria and Palestine in the second millennium B.C.; our present knowledge is probably only a fraction of what we shall know in another score of years. Even if the direct connection believed by VIROLLEAUD and DUSSAUD to exist between the Ugarit texts and biblical tradition should prove to be non-existent, as the writer believes, their indirect value for biblical interpretation is certain to be very great indeed. Ultimately, indeed, their bearing on biblical literary problems is likely to be far greater than that of the entire body of Mesopotamian and Anatolian cuneiform inscriptions. Again we must felicitate the discoverers, decipherers, and interpreters on their brilliant results.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵ This paper was completed Dec. 24th, 1933. Just after its completion the writer received two additional publications by FRIEDRICH: a review of BAUER'S *Das Alphabet*, *OLZ*, 1933, 738-42; a brochure, *Ras Shamra*, in *Der alte Orient*, 33, Heft 1-2. In the latter publication FRIEDRICH has given an admirable popular account of the discoveries at the site of ancient Ugarit.

EINE ALTSÜDARABISCHE CHRESTOMATHIE

S. D. F. GOITEIN

JERUSALEM

K. CONTI ROSSINI. *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis Epigraphica*, edita et glossario instructa. Roma, Istituto per l'Oriente. 1931.

Das „Altsüdarabische“ (dies ist wohl vorläufig der geeignetste Sammelname für die uns so gut wie ausschließlich aus Inschriften bekannten Sprachen der Minäer, Sabäer, Ḳatabānen, und antiken Ḥaḍramuter u.a.; „südarabisch“ könnte für eine Bezeichnung der modernen Mehri- Soḳoṭrā- u.ä. Dialekte gehalten werden) ist für den Erforscher des biblischen Altertums sowohl sprachlich als auch sachlich von bedeutendem Interesse. Was zunächst das Sprachliche anbelangt, so wird es ja immer offensichtlicher, daß die übliche Einteilung der semitischen Sprachen in Ostsemitisch einerseits, Nord- und Südsemitisch andererseits einer gewissen Ergänzung bedarf, indem, wie zuletzt wieder die Funde von Rās Schamra gezeigt haben, starke Überkreuzungen zwischen den einzelnen Sprachen vorliegen (vgl. z. B. H. BAUER in *OLZ* 1933, 317–8). Es ist schon lange beobachtet worden, daß das Altsüdarabische, ähnlich dem Äthiopischen, vielfach im Wortschatz da mit dem Hebräischen übereinstimmt, wo dies das Nordarabische nicht tut; z.B. (חרג *hrg*), חדר *ḥdl*, ידע *jdʿ*, יסף *wsf*, ישב *wšb*, עשה *ʿsj*, רכל *rtkl*, שים *šjm*, שפט *šft* anordnen, שפק *šfk*, שפה *šft*; Substantiva: גוי *gw* (besser wäre גו zu vergl., s. auch I. LEVY, *Neuhebr. Wörterb.* I 307^a), נשיא *nšʾ*, צבא *ḍb*, קהל *khl*; Adjektiva: קטן *ktn*, (in der Phrase *kl ʾnsm bḥm wktnm drhk wkrb* scheint mir freilich „ortsanwessend“ zu Grunde zu liegen), רחק *rḥk*; Phrasen wie שב שבות *šb šbwt* auf Befehl etc. Demnach kann das Altsüdarabische mit Erfolg zur Erläuterung eines zweifelhaften Bibeltextes herangezogen werden. Ein Beispiel mag genügen. Hosea 9⁴ wird seit langem statt יַעֲרְכוּ לוֹ יַעֲרְכוּ allgemein יַעֲרְכוּ gelesen (vgl. GESENIUS-BUHL s. v. ערב III und

zuletzt E. SELLIN, *Zwölfprophetenbuch* I 91), da ערב „angenehm sein“ in der Tat schlecht paßt. Nun ist aber ער „Opfer darbringen“ im Minäischen keineswegs selten, GLASER 1660³ *jwm ער dbh עtr* „am Tage, da er darbrachte das Opfer Attars“ entspricht sogar genau unserer Stelle. Der, übrigens gut bezeugte, masoretische Text ist also beizubehalten, und der Bedeutungsbereich von ערב ist um eine Nuance zu erweitern.

Noch bedeutsamer vielleicht als das sprachliche ist das sachliche Interesse, das die altsüdarabischen Inschriften bieten. Der unbekannte Staat von Katabān, sagt D. S. MARGOLIOUTH, *Lectures on Arabic Historians* 1930, 40, hat mehr Urkunden über seine Institutionen, mehr Beschlüsse seiner Parlamente und Verordnungen seiner Könige hinterlassen als das berühmte Sidon und das noch berühmtere Karthago. Ein volles Verständnis, vornehmlich der Inschriften rechtlichen Inhalts wird freilich wohl erst möglich sein, wenn systematische Grabungen — Grabungen haben, abgesehen von denen C. RATHJENS, überhaupt noch nicht stattgefunden — die bisherigen, mehr zufälligen Funde ergänzen werden. Aber daß auch schon jetzt die südarabische Antike für die biblische Theologie nutzbringend verwertet werden kann, hat jüngst MARTIN BUBER's *Königtum Gottes* gezeigt.

In den letzten Jahren ist ein steigendes Interesse am Altsüdarabischen nicht zu verkennen (vgl. die Übersicht über die bisherigen Inschriften-Veröffentlichungen durch G. RYCKMANN'S in *Revue Biblique* 1932, 89–95), und der letzte Orientalistenkongress in Leyden war, hoffentlich mit Erfolg, bemüht, dieses Interesse durch ermutigende Beschlüsse (s. *Actes du XVIIIe Congres International des Orientalistes* 180–1) wachzuhalten. Um so mehr ist es zu begrüßen, daß nun in K. CONTI ROSSINI's mit einem ausführlichen Glossar versehener Chrestomathie nicht nur dem akademischen Unterricht ein ausgezeichnetes Lehrbuch, sondern auch der wissenschaftlichen Forschung ein wichtiges Hilfsmittel gegeben worden ist. HOMMEL's Chrestomathie ist ja über die Veröffentlichung minäischer Texte nicht hinausgekommen und außerdem heute schwer zu haben; und I. GUIDI's kurzer Abriss in *Le Muséon* 1927 ist nur für eine allererste Einführung bestimmt. CONTI ROSSINI's Buch, das, wie die Einleitung hervorhebt, selbst aus dem akademischen Unterricht erwachsen ist, enthält zunächst elf Exzerpte aus antiken Geographen, die von Süd-

arabien berichten, und zwar die griechischen Texte in lateinischer Übersetzung. Darauf folgt der erste Hauptteil, bestehend aus 65 sabäischen, 17 minäischen, 10 ḳatabānischen und mehreren awsānischen und ḥaḍramutischen Inschriften. Alle Gattungen, wie Grab-, Weihe-, Sühne- und Bauinschriften, Gesetze, Tempelvorschriften und Historisches sind vertreten und zwar in der Regel durch charakteristische, berühmte und wohlerhaltene Beispiele. Nur gelegentlich, wie etwa bei den Bussinschriften No. 44–46, wäre vielleicht eine interessantere Auswahl möglich gewesen.¹ Bei jeder Inschrift wird Herkunftsort und wichtigste Literatur angegeben. Zu No. 71 (GLASER 1155) hätte ED. MEYERS Aufsatz, 'Der minäische Karawanenhandel zur Perserzeit,' *Zeitschr. f. Assyriologie*, 11, 327 ff der sich mit dieser Inschrift befaßt, erwähnt werden können. Freilich will jetzt H. GRIMME die Inschrift, die HOMMEL a. a. O. 104 schon auf 1250 angesetzt hatte, durch die Gleichung ʾšr = Israel wieder in eine ganz andere Zeit verlegen (*Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* 39, 233 ff). — Die typographische Wiedergabe ist sehr schön und korrekt; sie zeigt auch durch Variierung der Type das ungefähre Zeitalter der Inschrift an; No. 27,6 lies ʾbdjhw; No. 69,5 wǧjl (statt ǧjl); No. 101,2 ist in wʾwdns entweder des zweite w zu streichen, oder müßte im Glossar dies als besondere Form der Phrase nfss wʾdns aufgeführt werden.

Mehr als zwei Fünftel des Buches nimmt das GLOSSAR ein. Es verzeichnet nicht nur den in der Chrestomathie enthaltenen Wortschatz — auch dies würde bei dem formelhaften Charakter der meisten Inschriften den größten Teil des uns bekannten altsüdarabischen Sprachgutes umfassen —, sondern noch vieles darüber hinaus, wenngleich Vollständigkeit nicht angestrebt worden ist, wie ein Vergleich mit HOMMEL's *Minäischem Wörterverzeichnis* zeigt. Die Worte sind nach dem hebräischen Alphabet angeordnet, und zwar so, daß die in diesem nicht vorhandenen Buchstaben jeweils demjenigen nachfolgen, dem sie im Nordarabischen in ihrer Form ähnlich sind, also ʾ nach ʾ, obgleich doch ersteres im Altsüdarabischen nur

¹ Diese bemerkungswerten Urkunden, in denen der Stifter seine oft recht intimen Vergehen in Stein oder Erz verewigt, um durch diese Beichte der Sünde ledig zu werden, haben ein genaues Gegenbild in lokalen kleinasiatischen Kulturen noch im zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert, vgl. JOH. GEFFCKEN, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* 7.

eine Nebenform des ς ist u.s.w. Es wäre praktischer gewesen, das (nord)arabische Alphabet zugrunde zu legen. Bedauerlicherweise fehlt eine Konkordanz der in der Chrestomathie mitgeteilten Nummern der GLASER, HALÉVY, etc. Inschriften, was die Benutzung des Glossars, das oft nur letztere zitiert, erschwert. Derlei technische Kleinigkeiten werden nur vermerkt, weil ja das Glossar in seiner Art grundlegend ist und sicher vielfach Benützung finden wird.

Im Folgenden sollen noch einige Einzelheiten zum Glossar bemerkt werden, vornehmlich im Zusammenhang mit dem heute in Zentraljemen gesprochenen arabischen Dialekt, den ich seit mehreren Jahren an von dort nach Palästina kommenden Einwanderern studiere. Es ist ja nur natürlich, daß in Zentraljemen, obgleich auch dort das Altsüdarabische schon längst ausgestorben ist, besonders Realia noch vielfach mit denselben Wörtern bezeichnet werden wie vor zweitausend Jahren. Wenn sich der Reichtum des klassischen Arabisch an Synonymen daraus erklärt, daß verschiedene Dialekte in gleicher Weise in die Literatursprache aufgenommen worden sind, so ist es nicht verwunderlich, im Altsüdarabischen gerade diejenigen „klassisch arabischen“ Worte zu finden, die auch in der jetzigen jemenischen Umgangssprache üblich sind. Säen heißt da ḍrj , nicht zr , ernten ṣrb , nicht ḥsd (das ja aus dem Aramäischen stammt), das Feld heißt ḡrbāh , das Wasserbassin māḡil , einst wie jetzt. Ich beginne meine Bemerkungen mit letzterem Worte, *Chrestomathia* 100^a: wie A. A. BEVAN in *Oriental Studies presented to E. G. Browne* zeigt, war māḡl auch in der klassischen arabischen Literatur ziemlich verbreitet; zum Stamm hätte אגל I. LEVY *Neuhebr. Wörterbuch* I 21 verglichen werden können. — 105^b, ṭlkm Name einer Landschaft; diese könnte sehr wohl nach dem tālūḡāh -($g-k$) Baum genannt sein, der riesige Ausmaße erreicht und deshalb zur Kennzeichnung einer Landschaft sehr geeignet ist. — 107 a ʔn , Relativpartikel; als solche dient auch heute *ain* „wo“, *an* gesprochen, vgl. *Zeitschr. f. Semitistik* IX 38. — 114 a blwt Grabmal; es gibt auch ein Verb blw ein Grabmal errichten, cf. G. RYCKMANN, *Le Muséon* 40, No. 44² (diese Inschriften werden sonst im Glossar exzerpiert s.u.); ob das heutige bilā Friedhof (mehr poetisch, hat aber nichts mit balā Unglück zu tun) zu vergleichen ist? — 123a gn mit einer Mauer umgeben, vgl. jemen. ḡānaw , pl. ḡānawāt Reifen. — 140b mwakkiṣ Name einer Sippe, deren Mitglieder z.B., *CIS* IV 544² als ʔdm mlk bezeichnet werden;

da *mwaggiš* (g = k) heute Steinmetz, Baumeister bedeutet, kann es sich hier um Königshandwerker handeln. Tempelhandwerker *šnʿ wd* nennt eine minäische Inschrift 224b, wozu bemerkt sei, dass *šnʿ* im Zentraljemen heute speziell den Weber bezeichnet. — 143a *zbr* extruxit(?). Vgl. jemen. *Zābūr*, eine Erdart, die nach einer umständlichen Verarbeitung zur Errichtung eines ebenso genannten Baues dient, der fest sei „wie Beton“, davon *zibrāh*, fest. Näheres in meinem Buch „*Jemenica. Sprüchwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen 1934*“, No. 80. — 145b *mḥgrt* pomarium, arbustum, was schlecht paßt, da mit *mrʿj* zusammen genannt. *maḥḡar* ist heute die durch Übereinkommen gehegte Winterweide in den Regenstromtälern, vgl. LANDBERG, *Arabica* V 4—5 (*Chrestomathia* 112b), Näheres *Jemenica* 353 und 623. — 151b, *ḥrg* imperavit; vgl. jemen. *ḥarraḡ. ʿala* jemand etwas verbieten. — 152b *ḥrr* obscurum; de quadam praeparatione versum ad aedificandum; vgl. vielleicht jemen. *ḥarr*, pl. *ahrir* Stall, Untergeschoß. — 168a *mknt* locus . . . cella; jemen. *makān* Zimmer. — 179b *msr* fundavit; vgl. jemen. *jimsir* einen Brunnen ausbessern (und auch: reinigen). — 203b *ʿdb* ausbessern; hätte GESENIUS-BUHL II עֲבַב verglichen werden sollen. — 205a *ʿzt* (mit عَظْمَة l) ist zu streichen; vgl. 138a *wʿz* Sonst ist es ja nur zu begrüßen, wenn eine Wurzel in ihren verschiedenen Formen aufgeführt wird, wobei dann allerdings ein Verweis dringend notwendig ist (wie z. B. bei ʿ*Awsān*, 102a ʿws = 137b *wsn*). — 211b ʿd ʿp. Die arabische Entsprechung ist doch nicht ع, vgl. NÖLDEKE, *Neue Beiträge* 145. — 214a ʿtr errichten ist zu streichen; bei G. RYCKMANNs, *Le Muséon* 40, No. 9¹⁻² steht *hʿtr*, was mit dem Herausgeber zweifellos als Schreibfehler für *whwtr* anzusehen ist; die Formel *hwtr whškr* „er gründete den Bau und führt ihn bis zur Decke auf“ ist sehr gewöhnlich, vgl. nur G. RYCKMANNs *a.a.O.* No. 5¹, 7² (CIS IV 540, 30—31), fehlt freilich 142b unter *wtr*. — 219b ʿfkl Frucht, Ernte; aber vielleicht genauer wie jemen. *figlāh* (g = k), der Körnerhaufen auf der Tenne nach dem Dreschen, dessen Errichtung, *jifaggilū*, als eigentliche Beendigung der Ernte gilt, s. *Jemenica* 313. — 228a *mḍrft* vor obscura, fortasse aedificia sine calce et caemento ad aggerem Marib; diese Vermutung, die letztlich auf Fr. PRAETORIUS zurückgeht, ist sicher richtig, denn *maḍraf*, pl. *maddruf* bezeichnet noch heute den Staudamm, der aus durch keinerlei Mörtel verbundenen Steinen besteht, auf welche an der

dem Regenstrom zugekehrten Seite mit *zīl*-Wurzeln durchzogene Erdschollen gelegt werden, die dann durch den Einfluß des Wassers mit den Steinen verwachsen, wodurch ein fester Damm gebildet wird, der nach erfolgter Bewässerung der höhergelegenen Felder wieder niedergelegt wird; Näheres *Jemenica* 580.

Mit diesen Bemerkungen sollte nur die Dankbarkeit zum Ausdruck gebracht werden, die sicherlich jeder, der mit dem Studium des Altsüdarabischen etwas zu tun hat, für die von dem Verfasser geleistete Arbeit hegen wird.

BOOK REVIEWS

G. DALMAN, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*: Vol. I, 2, *Frühling und Sommer*, pp. VIII + 417 and 39 illustrations. 1928. Mk. 16. Vol. II, *Der Ackerbau*, pp. XVI + 384 and 81 illustrations, 1932, Mk. 21. Gütersloh, C. Bertelsmann.

Vol. I, 2 deals with the Palestinian spring and the summer seasons, as well as with the divisions of the day. Every simple item, however unimportant it may seem, is minutely described. We find chapters on the rise and fall of the temperature, sirocco, wind, rain, weather changes, growing plants, their names, uses, the flowers and the feasts characteristic of these periods. A special feature of this volume is its exact description of a great number of wild plants and flowers.

The second volume deals with agriculture in fields and gardens. It gives the minutest description of everything connected with the subject. Every chapter of these two excellent volumes is divided into two parts. In the first an exact—perhaps too lengthy—description of present conditions in Palestine is found. The second gives a parallel description of the same subject in ancient times. Arabic terms, practices and beliefs of Lebanon, Syria, Transjordan, Mesopotamia, and Egypt are diligently cited. The author has tried to give for every proverb, song, custom and superstition the place where he has heard or seen it. An important characteristic of all works of Dr. DALMAN, namely his carefulness in giving exact and uniform transcriptions, is a valuable feature of these two volumes. The vast literature is industriously cited. Each of these two volumes closes with four indices and several plates of illustrations. All these features give the volumes of *Arbeit und Sitte* an authoritative place in the folkloristic literature of Palestine. They will keep their scientific value as an encyclopaedia of the life and customs of the Holy Land. Continuous reference to parallels of the ancient Orient, especially to the Biblical and Talmudic periods, makes this work of fundamental value for the study of conditions in those times.

It is a fact that one and the same term may be used in different parts of the country for different objects, and it is therefore a

mistake to condemn a term as wrong because it is unknown in this or that district. The following additions and explanations to the second volume are by no means intended to detract from the importance of the book, but to put some new material on record.

pp. 14-24. *arḍ ʕufrīyeh* (from *ʔasfar*, yellow) is used in some places for *arḍ huṭrād*; *arḍ ḥaddādiyeh* (from *ḥadid*, iron) is a sandy-earthly land, difficult to plough; *arḍ quḥḥ* is a yellowish, sandy and barren land¹; *djaṣīreh* (island) is the term given to a piece of land from which two sides were partly washed away by the winter torrents flowing in an adjacent valley. A wall dividing two gardens, fields or plots of ground always belongs, unless there is a written *ḥidjdjeh* (document), to that land which lies higher. Black earth is called in some places (Qalōniā) *arḍ (i)ḥrab*—from *ḥirbeh*, ruin.

p. 57. Peasants make in their *ḥawākīr* besides *qanālīr* also scarecrows, made of two pieces of wood in the form of a cross and covered with rags. They are called *ʿadjīb* (ʿĒn Kārim), *zawāl* (Jerusalem), *zawāleh* (Ṭanṭūrah, Abu Ghōṣ, Ṭaiybeh), *šarsūḥah* and *qaʿqūrah* (Ṭanṭūrah).

pp. 77-105. The *rākūb* or *nāṭiḥ* is called in some places *qāḍi*. *Sawādḡir* are wooden nails holding the *quddāmīyeh* with the *yāṣūl*. *Baiyūr*² means also a leather strap holding the *šarʿāh* with a wooden nail. That the *šbāk* and *šarʿāh* are generally made from leather is well expressed in the proverb *šbākuḥ min ḡanabuh ušarʿtuh min raqbatuh* "His *šbāk* is made from his (the ox's) tail and his *šarʿāh* from (the skin of) his neck" (see also *المجلة السورية*, vol. III, no. 9). The following terms applied to ploughs of different types are known in the Jerusalem district: *ʿūd islāmī* (II, p. 69) is that plough where the *ʿūd* and the *ḡakar* are made of one piece (DALMAN, II, fig. 22); in *ʿūd waṣleh* the *yāṣūl* is composed of two pieces (see the figure in ZDMG 70, 168). A proverb teaches *el-maḥḡbiyeh*³ *bṭiksir el-wiḥrāt*, "the hidden stone breaks the plough" (North Palestine and Syria). Such a stone is called in ʿĒn Kārim *nakbeh* (really 'misfortune').⁴

pp. 120-129. A *qazmah* (Dēr Ghassāneh) is a large *fās* with one

¹ For *arḍ ḡīṣeh* I heard in Bēt Iksa the term *arḍ ṣiqṭah*.

² In DALMAN, II, p. 79 this term denotes a wooden hook.

³ I heard *el-maḡṣūn* also instead of *el-maḡḡbiyeh*.

⁴ *Ḥrūt diṣṣeh* denotes the ploughing a few weeks after the last rain, namely when the ground has lost its *ribbeh*, moisture (Bēt Iksa).

end smaller than the other. Both ends are pointed. *Fās midjwizeh* is a simple pickaxe the iron part of which projects only to one side and is divided into two hooks. The terms *nattāšeh* (from *nataša*, to pull out), *nakkāšeh* and *minkāšeh* denote a small pickaxe with one end pointed, the other having two pointed and rounded hooks. In Bēt Djālā they use *nattāšeh* (also called *mintāšeh*) for such a pickaxe, while the two other expressions are regarded as synonyms to *fahhāšeh* and *bahhāšeh*,¹ which stand for a common but small *fās*. *Šarḥ* is a large *baltah*. *Qarāmlīyeh*² (from *qurmīyeh*, stump of a tree) is a *fās* with one end more or less pointed and the other broad and somewhat sharp. The surface of the last runs horizontally, i.e. in the same line with the axis of the handle.

pp. 134–146. Enquiry made in ʿĒn Kārim, Qalōnia, Bēt Djālā, Bēt Ikṣa and Silwān shows that *hawākīr* often used to be manured even as back as 70 years ago. This was never done thoroughly or systematically. Sayings pointing to the use of manure are: *iṭʿam el-arḍ btiṭʿamak*, “Feed the land and it will feed you” (ʿĒn Kārim); *zabbil (i)btīṭʿam*, “Put manure and it (the land) will yield a good crop,” lit. it will feed (Bēt Djālā);³ *kibir el-bedindjān witdandanat (i)djrāseh u nīsī quffet ez-zbāleh illī ʿānat tinčabb ʿarāseh*, “the egg-plant has grown and its flower bells are jingling, and it has forgotten the basket of manure which used to be poured over its head”; *mitl el-baqdūnis šuršuh ʿal-ḥarā ubiʿāšīr-el-ʿakābir ʿaš-šufrah*, “Like the parsley, its roots grow in the dung, yet it courts high company at table.”⁴

A special way of increasing the fertility of land is to mix red with black earth. This idea is expressed in the saying *bārak allah*

¹ DALMAN, II, pp. 120 and 324, has heard this term used for a one-sided *fās*. Another synonym for *bahhāšeh* is *šakūšeh* (Bēt Ikṣa). For *šakūs* see CANAAN, *The Palestinian Arab House, its Architecture and Folklore*, p. 51.

² *Qarmala* in the Palestinian dialect means to cut wood. It is unknown in this sense to the classical language. *Qarāmlīyeh* may be a blend (Mischbildung) of *qurmīyeh* and *qarmala*, like *ṭrumbīl* from *uṭombīl* and *ṭrumbah*.

³ A peasant of Qalōnia assured me that the following saying is often used to advise rational cultivation and the use of manure: *ed-dunyā bil-ʿamal wil-ʾālyreh bil-ʿamal*, “The (success of this) world depends upon work and (the success of) the everlasting life depends (also) on work.” But it denotes in the first place the good actions of a person in general.

⁴ The two last proverbs were mentioned in *JPOS*, VIII, 148.

fiš-šiklēn in indjamaʿen, "May God bless both kinds if they come together." The ashes of the *ṭawābīn* are used to manure the newly planted onion and cauliflower plots. The dung of chicken is known as *warṣ*, and that of donkeys as *mūṣ* (Dēr Ghassāneh).¹

pp. 151-153. The following sayings may throw further light on the subject: *ez-zarʿ laz-zurrāʿ wil-arḍ la-ṣḥābha*, "The standing corn belongs to those who planted it, but the land is for its owners"; *naʿam kunt ḥarrāt ubarīf ḥdūd el-mawāris*, "Yes, I was a plougher and know (well) the boundaries of the *mawāris*"; *kōl baṣal ukōl ma baʿduh ḥaṣal*, "Eat onions and eat afterwards whatever you may get";² *naḥḥah uṣamḥah*³ *ubaṣal fidj-djēb*, "Strong odour (of perfume) and fine growth, yet onions in the (his) pocket"; *ḥubz ḥāf biʿarriḍ-el-kiāf*, "Bread alone makes the shoulders broad"; *min qillet el-quṭṭēn akalnā qmūʿuh*, "For the lack of dried figs we have eaten the stalks."

pp. 233-238. The irrigation of fields, known as *rabṣ*, is practiced in the district of Bīsān and in the Ghōr. The water is allowed to flow over the dry land (*burbuṣ*) before it is ploughed. When the *zarʿ* grows it may still have to be watered once or more. This method is practiced both for winter and summer crops. That part of the water-channel which crosses a road is called *ʿabbārah*.

pp. 264-272. *Fūliyeḥ* is the term used for the dish of *fūl* with oil. I heard *daḥbūr*, pl. *daḥābīr*, instead of *daḥbūr*, *daḥābīr*⁴; hence the family name *Daḥbūrah* (Bethlehem). In Jerusalem the roasted unripe *ḥummuṣ* bunches are called *ḥāmleḥ*. The vendors announce the same by shouting *ḥāmleḥ (yā) malān(eh)!* *Turmuṣ* boiled in water looses its bitter taste and is sold together with boiled *fūl*. Salt and minced parsley are strewn over the mixture. The vendors praise the same with the words *immallaḥ uladīd*, or *ʿāl yā-l-lōz* (Jerusalem).

pp. 273-303. There are many proverbs connected with cereals and vegetables which explain some of their properties. In *JPOS*, VIII, 129-168, sayings pertaining to wheat, barley, maize, rice, *kūsā*, *baṭīḥ*, *qarʿ*, *ḥiār*, *silq*, *fūl*, *fidjl*, *kammūn*, *ḥubbēzeh*, *baṣal*, *tōmeh*, *hindbeh*, *naʿnaʿ*, *ḥarwaʿ*, *ḥabbet el-barakeh* and *tutun* (*titin*, *duḥḥān*)

¹ In the classical language the verbs *warāṣa* and *warāḍa* mean to lay eggs (of a hen).

² This and the following proverbs throw some light on the simple food of the peasants, especially the workers.

³ See *Muḥīt* and HAVA.

⁴ This term is unknown to the classical language (*muḥīt*, HAVA, BELOT).

have been given. In the following only those will be quoted which have not yet been mentioned: *min kitret maḥabti bil-karafs akaltuh (i)b'ūduh*, "Owing to my great love for celery (*Apium graveolens*) I have eaten it with its stalk"; *maiyeṭ el-baṣal mā bisirš minha 'asal*, "No honey can be made from the juice of onions"; *el-baṣal mā bizambit illa lammā yikbar*, "The onions do not develop their flower stalks except when they grow large";¹ *binām nōm zaiy šrūš et-tōm*, "He sleeps like the roots of garlic," i.e. he curls himself like the roots of this plant; *lammā šāf el-qulqās (i)b'dēli* (classical *dail*) *qallī tfaddāl yā šhērī*, "When he saw the colocasia (carried) in my garment's lap he said, 'Come and partake of food (or visit me), O my kinsman' (son-in-law or brother-in-law)!" *badil* (or *badal*) *ma tākul ruzz ubedindjān ghaṭṭī badanak el-'aryān*, "Instead of eating (the dish made of) rice and egg-plants (buy something to) cover your bare body"; *badal aklak el-malfūf ghaṭṭī badanak el-makšūf*, "Instead of eating cabbage cover your naked body"; *hōd min el-fidjil-el-waraq umin el-laḥmeh-el-maraq umin en-nisa-š-šalaq*,² "Take from the radishes the leaves, from meat the broth, and from women the tall ones." *el-lift aḥū-dj-djazar*, "The turnip is the brother of the carrot; *kull walaf 'awilfuh ilūf hiṭṭa-l-qarnabī* 'al-malfūf, "Every friend is attached to his friend, even cauliflower is attached to cabbage (Ramallah); *illi ma byākul fi baladuh baṣal ma byākul fi blād-en-nās 'asal*, "A person who does not eat in his (own) village onions will not eat (or get) honey in a strange country";³ *bnurkuḍ bnurkuḍ wil-aša ḥubbēzeh*, "We run and run (i.e. we work very hard) yet our supper is (nothing but) mallow."

All the volumes of *Arbeit und Sitte* are a real mine of sound, important and scientifically arranged and explained material.

T. CANAAN

¹ The inhabitants of the villages surrounding 'Aramōn el-Gharb (Lebanon) despise the people of this village with the words *dē'ah mšarrafeh by(u)nbut 'asalha min zanābīṭ el-baṣal wil-faṣāḥak min 'aṣāt el-madžrafeh*, "An honourable (may also mean 'highly situated') village whose honey grows on the flower stalks of the onions and the eloquence (of its inhabitants grows) on the handle-stick of the shovel" (heard from Mr. St. H. Stephan).

² *Šalaq* is unknown in this sense to *Muḥīl*.

³ A proverb using the same comparison but having a different meaning is *illi fi baladuh bidjurr 'asal rāḥ 'a-blād en-nās idjurr baṣal*.

Myth and Ritual. Essays on the Myth and Ritual of the Hebrews in Relation to the Culture Pattern of the Ancient East. By A. M. BLACKMAN, C. J. GADD, F. J. HOLLIS, S. H. HOOKE, E. O. JAMES, W. O. E. OESTERLEY, T. H. ROBINSON. Edited by S. H. HOOKE. xix, pp. 204. Oxford University Press; London, Humphrey Milford. Price 10s. 6d.

During the past few years many books of the symposium type have appeared in England, from which the practice has spread to the other side of the Atlantic. This fad is the bane of the librarian's life, but it produces results which are frequently most valuable. In the past one could distinguish between important and unimportant books; now one is faced with a mass of books containing both good and bad chapters. The present volume is no exception to this rule, but the good happily outweighs the inferior, so that it merits hearty recommendation.

For several decades there has been increasing interest in the relation between myth and ritual. It has long since been recognized that a definite relation does exist between the two, though our material has not been extensive enough to establish its exact nature. On the one hand it is clear that myth is often an aetiological description of ritual (cf. HOOKE, p. 3, below); on the other it is equally certain that ritual is sometimes a mimetic performance of a myth, itself of obscure origin. Under no circumstances can we maintain too unilateral an evolution, as certain of the contributors to the volume before us seem inclined to do. The origins of institutions and beliefs are generally complex, and cannot be explained by too simple a formula.

The emphasis on "pattern" in myth, ritual, and culture as a whole is comparatively new, and unquestionably introduces a most valuable principle, borrowed partly from the newer school of ethnographers and partly from the "Gestalt" psychologists, who emphasize the basic character of thought-patterns. Since the reviewer's own thinking had led him to similar viewpoints with regard to myth and cult many years ago (cf. *JBL*, 37 [1918], 111 ff.; *JAOS*, 40 [1920], 307-335; *JPOS*, 1 [1921], 51f.), he is naturally predisposed to accept the main position of the book before us.

Professor HOOKE contributes an introductory essay on "The Myth and Ritual Pattern of the Ancient East," and another on

"Traces of the Myth and Ritual Pattern in Canaan." The attitude taken in these chapters is that of FRAZER, supplemented by HARTLAND and HOCART; the influence of ELLIOT SMITH and PERRY is very small. The approach is, therefore, modern, but somewhat one-sided, as illustrated by the prominence given to the idea of kingship, including the death of the king-god, his resurrection and exaltation, etc. FRAZER's conception has certainly not been proved, and the combination of it with MOWINCKEL's equally interesting and uncertain views of the enthronement feast and ritual in Israel, yields a synthesis which reminds one of the myth of Ossa on Olympus and Pelion on Ossa referred to by ROBINSON on p. 181. The two essays illustrate again the fact that our materials for the reconstruction of Canaanite religion are exceedingly fragmentary. Even a first-hand command of the material would hardly yield results more satisfactory than those of the editor, who has at least achieved definiteness of outline, however much one may object to details or his picture. The very extensive use of the new material from the cuneiform tablets of Ugarit (Râs eš-Šamrah), on pp. 77-86, is rather unfortunate, since the decipherment of these important documents had only begun when HOOKE wrote, and we are still far from having achieved certainty in many of our interpretations. The editor should have differentiated between decipherment of the script and decipherment of the inscriptions written in that script. Most of the conclusions to which he comes in this connection are, accordingly, erroneous. In fact, the student cannot be warned too strongly not to accept any statement of the editor with regard to the interpretation of the material described in these pages without independent investigation. A detailed criticism would carry us far beyond the space at our disposal.

The second and third essays, by BLACKMAN and GADD, who deal with Egypt and Babylonia, respectively, are incomparably the best in the volume. Both control their source-material absolutely - which cannot be said of any other contributors to the volume - and write with a restrained originality that makes their treatment important for the specialist as well as fascinating to the layman. We do not exaggerate in asserting that the two authors are unexcelled by any living Egyptologist or Assyriologist in their qualification for discussing the subject of myth and ritual in the two lands of the earliest sedentary

culture. Thanks to this fact it is impossible to find any point where a serious criticism can be made. While it is probable that SETHE's reconstruction of Egyptian prehistory is too artificial, BLACKMAN's dependence on it cannot be reasonably criticized at this stage of our knowledge, since nothing better has been offered elsewhere. GADD's essay is broader in its scope than BLACKMAN's and is consequently even more interesting and important. Its very breadth, however, introduces more uncertain elements. Thus the account of the myth of the imprisonment and release of Marduk, as described in the New Year's ritual (pp. 58 ff.), is probably not entirely correct, owing to the close adherence of the author to ZIMMERN's interpretation. The reviewer believes, on the basis of still unpublished studies of his, that the function of Nabû is to a certain extent comparable to that of Horus in the Osiris cycle, and that ZIMMERN's interpretation of certain episodes (which seem to bear so great a resemblance to corresponding episodes of the Passion of Christ) is quite wrong; cf. also GADD, p. 61 f. The reviewer has offered a solution of the question raised by GADD on p. 63, above, with reference to magical motives underlying the Gilgames Epic, in his paper already quoted (*JAOS*, 40, 315 ff., esp. p. 316, above).

The remaining four essays are less important and are of very unequal value. The most original is unquestionably HOLLIS's study of the "Sun-cult and the Temple at Jerusalem"; the poorest is OESTERLEY's "Early Hebrew Festival Rituals." HOLLIS defends a most interesting thesis, that the orientation of the Temple and the position of the altar of burnt offering with reference to the Holy of Holies (identified by HOLLIS with the Sacred Rock—an identification which appears to be correct; cf. GALLING in *ZDPV*, 55, [1932], 247, above) were fixed so that the first rays of the sun, rising over the Mount of Olives at the autumnal equinox, would enter the portal, cross the altar, and terminate at the Holy of Holies. Unfortunately, the topographical and archaeological arguments are weak, though the theory is very plausible. Unhappily, HOLLIS omits any reference to the scholars who have proposed similar views in the past. This omission is particularly serious in the case of MORGENSTERN, whose important paper, "The Gates of Righteousness" (*Hebrew Union College Annual*, Vol. VI, 1929, pp. 1-38), not only anticipates him in vital points, but also cites several

passages in the Talmud and elsewhere which are essential to the demonstration. Other precursors are mentioned by MORGENSTERN in the paper just cited. In a number of places HOLLIS is on very insecure ground. The remarks on the name of Benjamin and the city of On (pp. 87-8) are extremely hazardous. There is no evidence whatever that the Jebusites worshipped the sun-god more exclusively than the surrounding peoples (p. 89). The "Phoenician" walls of the Temple enclosure have long since been shown to be Herodian (p. 100). GRESSMANN's idea that *parvah* is a corruption of *parbar*, and that the latter is derived from Sum. **barbar*, "shining", in the temple-name *E-babbar*, is linguistically impossible.

OESTERLEY's essay on the origin of Hebrew festival ritual cannot be criticized in detail, owing to lack of space. His views are an extraordinary mixture of older and newer theories on comparative religion, and the attempted synthesis is singularly incoherent. The idea of NIELSEN (p. 111) that nomads worship the moon and peasants ("agriculturists") the sun is a hasty generalization of no value whatever. The opposite (and equally rash) generalization has been made by FROBENIUS, whose views have fully as wide a currency as NIELSEN's. WELLHAUSEN's distinctions between nomadic and sedentary elements in Hebrew festival ritual can no longer be accepted in the simple formulation given them by his school; there was no such sharp demarcation, and the semi-nomadic stage was far more important than the nomadic, as is being shown more clearly by each extension of the archaeological survey of Palestine and Transjordan. Moreover, some of the processional and other rites which this school has credited to nomadic influence are parallel to Egyptian and Babylonian practices where nomadic influence can hardly be traced. OESTERLEY himself accepts the existence of Babylonian influence, and even pushes it too far. The shape of the *maššôt* was, he thinks, an imitation of the form of the full moon (p. 114)! The rest of OESTERLEY's essay is full of statements and conclusions which are just as precarious. His knowledge of the literature is very defective; e.g., he quotes the supposed Babylonian divine-name *Dibbarra* (pp. 119-20), which has been read *Irra*, *Era* (*Erra*) for nearly thirty years by all competent scholars. He knows nothing of the work of MORGENSTERN or DUSSAUD. There is also a surprising lack of historical spirit in the treatment, which seldom hints at the

relative lateness of the rabbinic material which is so freely employed; cf. the remarks on the *ethrog* (p. 142), which was not introduced at all into the ritual until the Persian or early Hellenistic age (cf. TOLKOWSKY, *JPOS*, 1928, 17 ff.).

JAMES'S essay on "Initiatory Rituals" is interesting, though not original. There is a tendency to connect quite dissimilar things which is occasionally disconcerting. The author is much better acquainted with anthropological literature than he is with the Ancient East.

The final essay, by T. H. ROBINSON, exhibits the merits which we have learned to associate with the author's name. It is well-written, coherent, and judicious in the opinions expressed. It is weak in dealing with the Ancient Orient. On reading this essay one is struck anew by the paucity of material. Ancient Israel was decidedly not given to myth-making, unless the hand of the censor has been even more active than is commonly supposed. Moreover, recent discovery has shown that ROBINSON is right in suggesting the late introduction of part of this mythical matter into Hebrew literature (cf. p. 173, below). The exilic oracle, Isa. 14: 4 ff., now proves to be quoted from a Canaanite epic, perhaps almost verbatim (*JPOS*, 1932, 192, n. 22), and the poetic reminiscences of Canaanite mythology in the Bible are mostly to be found in late books (*ibid.*, p. 208). Lack of space precludes further discussion of ROBINSON'S useful essay.

In conclusion we wish again to recommend the book to students, who will find much material and many suggestions, which are stimulating even when they do not commend themselves. We must thank Professor HOOKE for his happy idea.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

الاصول العربية لتاريخ سورية في عهد محمد علي باشا. *Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Documents relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha*. By ASAD GIBRAIL RUSTUM. "Publications of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the American University of Beirut." Vol. V, pp. 267 with one plate. Printed at the American Press, Beirut, 1933.

The 121 documents given in this volume belong to the year 1256 A. H. (March 5, 1840 to February 23, 1841); they are arranged in chronological order. Eighteen documents originated in Palestine and were gathered from various Moslem Sherī'a Courts as well as from private persons, whose ancestors, the addressees, played a more or less important political rôle. The reader is struck by the great variety of subjects dealt with by these documents, which thus give a fairly clear picture of many conditions prevalent during that year in the Near East. Material of this sort is needed in order to form a solid basis for the study of the history of Palestine and Syria.

The longest document deals with the Jews of Damascus and the murder of the chaplain Thomas and his servant. This document takes up fully 41 pages set in small type. For the first time we have the exact and detailed minutes of a case which figured prominently at that time.

A short synopsis of the documents pertaining to Palestine shows that some were written to officials (in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron, Nazareth), giving them new orders, or announcing the appointment of new officials to military and diplomatic posts. The documents addressed to private persons settle private questions or announce military achievements. Still others consist of correspondence of local officials with their subordinates or with the higher military officer. Two of the eighteen Palestinian documents deserve special mention. No. 611 is a letter of Moḥammad ʿIzzat Pāša, who signed *والي صيدا وسر عسكر حالا*, to the notables of Jerusalem, ordering the protection of the Christians and their treatment as equals of the Mohammedans. No mention is made of the Jews. No. 593 is a letter by Moḥammad Salīm Pāša, who signed his correspondence first as *مير لواء*, later as *فريق العساكر الظافرة وقيمقام*, and at the end of 1256 A.H. as *فريق العساكر المظفرة حالا*, to Dāhūd Abu Ghōš (of el-Qaryeh), describing the victory of the Turkish troops and the surrender of Acre.

Very interesting is the orthography and literary usage of that period. The following examples are characteristic. The present form is given for the sake of comparison in parenthesis. (جميع ما جميعا), (كل شي كلشي), (انفار نفرات), (الخلاص الاختلاص). Many Turkish words were introduced and used daily in the Arabic language.

This volume is, like the two foregoing ones, an excellent proof of the untiring industry of the author. The American University is to be congratulated on the excellent scientific works published from time to time by the Department of History.

T. CANAAN

ADOLF SCHULTEN, *Masada. Die Burg des Herodes und die römischen Lager mit einem Anhang: Beth-Ter*; mit Karten und Plänen von General-major A. LAMMERER und Beiträgen von A. LAMMERER, R. PAULSEN, K. REGLING, E. SCHRAMM. Sonderdruck aus *ZDPV* Bd 56; 8° de VII-184 pp. 14 pl. et 28 feuilles de plans. Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1933.

Cette monographie sera bien accueillie des palestinologues comme des gens versés dans la connaissance des antiquités romaines. A la description objective du site et des constructions ruinées de Masada elle unit l'étude la plus minutieuse et la mieux documentée des travaux exécutés par l'armée de Fl. Silva en 73 autour de la place-forte qui tomba la dernière au pouvoir des Romains.

Une des attractions de l'austère paysage de Sebbeh de nature à impressionner fortement l'esprit est en effet cet ensemble d'ouvrages militaires encore visibles sur le sol après dix-neuf siècles, témoins irrécusables d'un siège dramatique auquel l'historien Josèphe a consacré des pages émouvantes. En nul autre point de l'*Orbis Romanus* on ne trouve réunis un aussi grand nombre de camps qu'autour de Masada, nulle part un mur de circonvallation en si bon état de conservation et un *agger* aussi remarquable un dépôt de son affaissement. Le Dr. A. SCHULTEN, spécialiste en matière de poliorcétique romaine, proclame cette supériorité du site palestinien. Il en a tiré d'autant plus facilement tout le parti possible que ses fouilles exécutées en Espagne et en particulier aux abords de Numance l'avaient rompu à ce genre pratique d'études sur le

terrain. Heureusement secondé par le général A. LAMMERER, connu par ses relevés topographiques en Espagne, le chef de la mission allemande qui opéra quatre semaines au désert de Sebbeh, a pu joindre à ses descriptions des plans dont la netteté et l'exactitude rendent si aisée la lecture du texte. Au surplus le texte, loin de se borner à la description pure et simple de ce qui se voit, fait usage de la méthode comparative en rappelant les principes émis par les auteurs anciens qui ont traité *de re militari* et en rapprochant les faits acquis par l'archéologie sur divers points du vaste *limes* de l'Empire romain.

Toutes ces garanties engageront le lecteur à suivre ce nouveau guide de Masada alors même qu'à ses propres yeux ces camps de légionnaires et d'auxiliaires ne paraîtraient que des alignements enchevêtrés de blocs calcaires brunis ramassés dans les ravins. Initié par des connaisseurs qui n'avancent rien sans justification, le visiteur des cantonnements de l'armée de Silva se retrouvera à travers ces rues, ces exèdres, ces corps de garde, ces entrées munies de leur *clavicula* et les longs murs des casernes. Au camp B par exemple, dont l'enceinte de 162 mètres sur 130 abritait une demi-légion, non seulement les grandes lignes du plan sont reconnaissables, mais encore les détails du *praetorium* et de l'*auguratorium*, le sanctuaire des aigles et des enseignes, la demeure des tribuns. Et il y a ainsi huit camps à visiter autour de Sebbeh. S'ils n'ont pas tous la même importance, s'ils ne sont pas tous aussi bien conservés que le camp B, chacun a quelque particularité intéressante à présenter. En plus des deux camps qui se partageaient les cohortes et les cavaliers de la X^e légion Fretensis, on retrouve six camps pour auxiliaires, deux pouvant à la rigueur contenir une cohorte de mille hommes avec contingent à cheval, et quatre, de dimensions moindres faits pour loger chacun une cohorte de cinq cents fantassins. A l'aide de ces données fournies par les choses mêmes, SCHULTEN évalue à 8000 hommes les troupes qui assiégèrent Masada. Si l'on y ajoute les non-combattants qui suivaient pour différents motifs l'armée en campagne et dont les logements en dehors des camps (*canabae*) ont été en partie identifiés, le total des bouches à nourrir, sans parler des chevaux et des bêtes de somme, se montait à 10.000 personnes, ce qui posait un grave problème à l'intendance pour l'approvisionnement dans cette région isolée, dépourvue des moyens d'existence

les plus essentiels. De fait, les Romains résolurent le problème, puisqu'ils vécurent là au moins quatre mois jusqu'à ce que la place fut réduite, mais il n'était pas inutile de rechercher, comme on le voit dans cette monographie, par quels moyens on arriva jadis à une solution. La mission de Sebbeh était d'autant plus intéressée par cette question qu'elle se posait pour elle, dans de moindres proportions, il est vrai, durant le séjour de quatre semaines consacrées à l'étude du site et de ses monuments. Ce séjour lui permit de pousser fort avant l'examen des ouvrages militaires que DOMASZEWSKI n'avait pu qu'ébaucher en passant une journée aux camps de Masada. Plus récemment, CHR. HAWKES, directeur de la section anglaise du British Museum, avait réussi en 1929, sur la base de quarante photos d'avion, à établir une esquisse de l'ensemble assez fidèle et un plan du camp B. Si elles ne suffisent pas à remplacer l'autopsie, les vues aériennes apportent néanmoins une aide précieuse et ce fut une heureuse idée d'en avoir publié plusieurs dans la présente monographie.

Les voyageurs qui furent attirés par le pittoresque rocher de Sebbeh après que le compagnon d'EDWARD ROBINSON, ÉLI SMITH, l'eut identifié à Masada, ont spécialement fixé leur attention sur les vestiges monumentaux épars sur la plate-forme amortissant le bloc où s'élevait la forteresse. A ce sujet, il existait, à côté d'affirmations imprudentes ou erronées, de sérieux résultats acquis. Il n'était pas inopportun, toutefois, de nous donner un tableau exact et complet de la Masada hérodiennne et de reprendre par le menu la description des palais, des entrepôts et du rempart, d'essayer de retracer les voies d'accès de ce repaire et de contrôler ainsi les renseignements de FL. JOSÉPHE, témoin de la splendeur de cet ornement sévère des rives de la mer Morte. Cette tâche a été menée à bien par SCHULTEN et son *staff* de spécialistes à qui l'on doit des notions supplémentaires touchant la poliorcétique, la numismatique, les travaux du génie.

Un appendice est consacré au mur de circonvallation de Beth-*Ter*, aujourd'hui *Bittir*, dont les tronçons font piètre figure à côté du *vallum* solidement construit de Masada et que l'œil suit sans interruption au pied de la forteresse et sur la déclivité de la montagne dont se détache la belle et puissante molaire de Sebbeh.

F.-M. ABEL

FARIS, B. F. and DODD, S., *A post-War Bibliography of the Near Eastern Mandates*. Publications of the American University, Social Sciences Series No. 1., American Press, Beirut, Lebanon, 1932.

The American University of Beirut is beginning to grasp the great opportunities offered in the Near East for scholarly research and in the past few years has published several scholarly books, of which the three volumes of RUSTUM's *Materials for a Corpus of Arabic Documents relating to the History of Syria under Mehemet Ali Pasha* are the most prominent. The book under consideration represents one part of a series of eight volumes. Each part will give bibliographies of articles and books written in one of the following languages: Arabic (2 vols.), English, French, German, Hebrew, Italian, and miscellaneous Oriental languages (Armenian, Kurdish, Persian, Syriac and Turkish). The title of every article or book written in an Oriental language is translated into English. The aim of this series is to present "a preliminary survey of publications on the social sciences dealing with 'Irāq and Trans-Jordan and the Syrian States from Nov. 11, 1918, to Dec. 31, 1929, arranged in an alphabetical list by authors with a limited index by subject matter." While Professor DODD is the general editor of the whole series, each part has its own editor.

The two most important sections of the volume under review are: bibliographic items listed alphabetically by authors and a bibliography arranged according to subject heads. Reference to the second part would be much easier if the subjects dealt with on the page were printed above each column. Another change which would be welcomed by every reader is the printing of the headings in bolder type. One also wishes more consistency in the printing of these headings. While "Agricultural colonies, Agriculture, Aleppo, Art," etc., are printed in capital letters, other equally important headings are in small letters ("Anthropology, Arabic language, Arabs, Archaeology", etc). But none of these points seriously affects the high intrinsic value of the book, which may be recommended to every student of the Near East.

This series of publications has one great advantage over the well known work of Professor P. THOMSEN, *Die Palästina-Literatur*, namely, that Oriental literature (Arabic, Turkish, Hebrew, Armenian,

etc.) is more exhaustively recorded. Another advantage is that they include the literature of the three Arabic-speaking mandates, and not only the bibliography of Palestine.

T. CANAAN

Israelitische und altorientalische Weisheit par le D. WALTER BAUMGARTNER, Tübingen, Mohr, 1933. 34 pages.

Dans un style alerte et volontairement dépouillé d'encombrantes citations, l'éminent professeur de Bâle écrit pour les profanes le chapitre d'histoire littéraire qui concerne les Sagesse israélites et orientales. Ce n'est pas à dire que les spécialistes n'y puissent eux-mêmes trouver quelque agrément: la peinture est faite avec une sûreté de main qui trahit un maître et l'on sent que derrière telle phrase, tel trait savoureux, se cache une information aussi solide qu'étendue. Dès la première page l'auteur a su mettre en évidence l'ampleur du sujet, car il n'entend point se cantonner aux quatre livres sapientiaux proprement dits: Proverbes, Ecclésiaste, Ecclésiastique, Sagesse, et chercher vaille que vaille des parallèles orientaux. Job, plus d'un psaume, certaines pages de Baruch, de Tobie, et, parmi les apocryphes, de la lettre d'Aristée, du III^e livre d'Esdras et du IV^e des Macchabées, relèvent du même genre littéraire: sentences nourries d'une philosophie d'ordre essentiellement pratique, divisant l'humanité entière en sages et en fous (peut-on souhaiter distribution plus adéquate?), et dont la sagesse un peu courte, qui prodigue les recommandations hygiéniques quant à l'usage des boissons fermentées ou oppose la crainte du mari aux perspectives d'un adultère attrayant, est relevée dans son fond par le sentiment grave et profond de la crainte de Dieu, à qui appartient la rétribution en ce monde certainement et, on pourrait peut-être le conclure, dans l'autre. On regrettera sans doute qu'ici l'auteur n'ait pas consacré un développement spécial aux éloges de la Sagesse éternelle, qui occupent une place nettement à part dans le cadre de la littérature gnomique. Suivent quelques indications d'une extrême sobriété, mais marquées au coin du bon sens (les profanes n'ont que faire d'une technicité qui risquerait fort de les égarer), sur la constitution et l'âge des

principaux recueils. Les influences étrangères ont été nettement indiquées; on s'est bien gardé pourtant d'exagérer les dépendances ou le parallélisme; en ces matières un concordisme fade est aussi insupportable qu'une accusation de plagiat, brutale et ignorante des nuances: il y a de multiples degrés de cousinage. Leur donner la note qui convient eût entraîné BAUMGARTNER hors des limites de son sujet; ses lecteurs du moins lui sauront gré d'avoir attiré leur attention sur les inconvénients majeurs qu'il y aurait à caporaliser les rapports existants entre la sagesse israélite et la littérature orientale contemporaine.

Revenant aux recueils canoniques, replacés dans leur milieu avec la sagesse souriante qui convenait éminemment à un tel sujet, l'auteur en établit la transcendance, qui culmine au livre de Job, atteignant par la voie de l'expérience intime et de la réflexion le Dieu divinement révélé au Sinaï que nous enseigne la Thora.

A. BARROIS, O.P.

TREASURER'S REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING

December 31st, 1933

RECEIPTS

| | L.P. Mils |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------|
| Balance in hand, December 31st, 1932 | 290. 069 |
| Subscriptions paid during 1933 | 181. 940 |
| Sale of Journal and reprints | <u>30. 900</u> |
| Total: L. P. | <u><u>502. 909</u></u> |

EXPENDITURE

| | |
|--|------------------------------|
| Printing the four numbers of vol. XIII | 136. 885 |
| Postage and despatch of the four numbers | 27. 643 |
| Preparing clichés | 12. 350 |
| Stationary, Secretary's expenses, printing of programmes and their despatch | 10. 050 |
| Refreshments at five meetings | <u>5. 781</u> |
| Total: L. P. | 192. 709 |
| Balance in hand, December 31st, 1933 | <u>310. 200</u> |
| | <u><u>L. P. 502. 909</u></u> |

'ḤALĀNJ' = RED CHERRY-WOOD?

ST. H. STEPHAN

(JERUSALEM)

In the March issue of *Antiquity*¹ Miss C. WADDY publishes an article on 'A Scandinavian Cremation Ceremony' with translation of a medieval description from the Arabic of Ibn Fuḍlān (A.D. 922),² wherein 'Ḥalānj' wood is mentioned. In a footnote it is said to be "a wood of which bowls are made,"³ and that it is "unidentified." This scanty description is a typical example of the vague knowledge of some medieval Arab lexicographers about plants and animals of foreign countries. It may be stated here that a *Ḥalānj Yamāni* was known to the Arabs in the Middle Ages,⁴ but this does not seem to be identical with the *Ḥalānj* proper.

¹ Vol. VIII, 1934, No. 29, p. 60 ff.

² This description is also contained in YAQŪT's *mu'jam al-buldān*, ed. WÜSTENFELD, vol. II, 834 ff., where (on p. 837) this word is wrongly spelt as *ḥalīj*.

³ JAWĀLIQI, *mu'arrab*, s. v., quotes the verse of Ibn Qais ar-Ruqayyāt *wa-yāsqi lābana-l-buḥti fi qisā'i-l-ḥalānji*, ويسقي لبن البخت في قساع الخلنج. The word does not occur in IBN ḤALAWAIHI's *kitāb as-sājar* (ed. S. NAGELBERG, 1909). In MENINSKI's *Lexicon Arabice-Persico-Turcicum*, Vienna, 1780, s. v., خلنج or خلنج is explained as 1) "nomen arboris, ex tigni, aut patinae conficiuntur; 2) Talis patina lignea", while خلنج is described as an "arbor ex qua propissides fiunt." The same authority explains māḥlab as "grana, nucleis cerasinis per omnia similia, quae ex Azerbeigian afferuntur."

The following verse from al-Farazdaq (A.H. 20-114, A.D. 640/1-732/3) on his negro slave girl, is quoted from *al-ʿiqdu-l-farīd*, (Cairo, 1928) IV, 155

يارب خود من بات الزنج تغل تنوراً شديد الوهج
أغر مثل القدح الخانج يزاد طيباً بعد طول المزج

which description of the colour agrees with that given by KIEFER-BIANCHI, *Dictionnaire Turc-Français*, s. v. Similarly, the odour of a māḥlab walking-stick is intensified, if the stick is held in the hand for some time.

⁴ DOZY, *Supplément*, I, p. 400; this, however, is not contained in G. SCHWEINFURT's *Arabische Pflanzen aus Ägypten, Algerien und Jemen*, Berlin, 1912. AD-DIMIŠQI, *nuḥbatu-d-dahr* (Cosmographie) ed. MEHREN, mentions on p. 68 the فيروز خلنجي (turquoise) and on p. 65 maintains that amber is the resin of the ḥalānj tree.

STEINGASS¹ considers the word to be of Arabic origin, stating that it is a "tree from which they make beams or wooden bowls." DOZY, *l. c.*, quotes WILD, "qui atteste que le bois de cet arbre a une odeur forte et agréable", "welches die Türcken nennen Callengue." This strong and agreeable perfume is peculiar to the *mahaleb* tree among the number of odoriferous shrubs and trees growing in Turkey. Formerly a piece of its wood used to be kept in a bride's trousseau, and it was supposed that linen which had been in contact with it would exhale this fresh perfume for many years.

The red cherry tree, *Prunus mahaleb*, is known in Arabic, Syriac and Kurdish as *māḥlab*, and in Turkish as *mahléb*. POST² notes it even in Duma, (36 km. south of Tripoli), probably its southernmost occurrence. It is noted for the fragrance which its wood retains for an indefinite period. It does not grow in Palestine. Articles made from it (walking-sticks and smoking-pipes), its bark³ and the kernel of its fruit are imported from Egypt. Yet the main exporting countries seem to be Austria and the Succession States, though Italy (and even Greece) may supply the Egyptian market with *māḥlab* walking-sticks, cigarette holders and tobacco pipes.⁴ The present writer has heard of a fine sort of *māḥlab* walking-stick imported into Egypt from India.⁵ The raw wood is not imported.⁶ In Turkey it is used as fuel.

¹ *Persian-English Dictionary*, reprint of 1930; s. v.

² *Flora of Syria, Palestine and Sinai*, I, 2nd ed., 1933, p. 452.

³ CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, Hamburg, 1914, p. 88, mentions the bark of the *māḥlab* as *qisrit il-ḥamīs*, used in certain cases.

⁴ At present Jerusalem market prices for *māḥlab* walking-sticks, *bākūr* (pl. *bawākīr*) *māḥlab* vary between 2s. 3d and 4s. according to quality. The only stick commending a higher price is one of ebony. Other walking-sticks cost usually from one to two shillings.

⁵ Carrying a *māḥlab* stick is considered in Egypt to be a *ḥirz* (amulet) against the evil eye. Like the *yusr* (black coral) rosary (coming from the Red Sea near Jidda) it makes its owner prosperous. Cf. the saying: *illi bi-sabbih bi-l-yusr ma bi-ṣūf yusr* (He who recites his prayers with a *yusr* rosary will find no distress). As these walking-sticks are somewhat brittle they need to be handled carefully. It may be interesting to note in this connexion that neither *ḥalanj* nor *māḥlab* is mentioned in Dr. MOHAMMAD SHARAF's *Dictionary*, 2nd ed., Cairo, 1928.

⁶ The wood is known to the Buḥārian (Uzbag) dervishes of Jerusalem. They tell me that they do not manufacture articles from it, except tobacco pipes for the upper classes. The two varieties occurring in their country are known to them as *gelāṣ* (red cherry-tree proper) and *ṣāry āla*.

The flowers, leaves and wood are fragrant. The leaves exude a kind of resin, called *man* in Northern Mesopotamia.¹ It does not grow wild but only in orchards, together with cherries, which may be grafted on it either in part or as a whole.² In accordance with its botanical classification it is commonly considered a cherry-tree. Its Armenian name denotes 'wild cherry.'

In Mārdīn³ the fruit is collected before ripening, peeled and dried and sold in the market.⁴ Only about a tenth of the crop is left to ripen, when the berries assume a reddish to a dark reddish colour. The fruit is left to dry in the sun. Such dried berries are not obtainable in the market. They are sent in small quantities as presents. Taken as a medicine against stomach troubles, especially colic and "ḥarr" (= *ḥarāra*, gastritis?), they are effective antifebrines.⁵

The kernel is cooked with cheese, which thereby acquires a fragrance of choice herbs. All over the Near East it is also ground and, though bitter, added to cakes, sweatmeats and even bread. It may be also eaten like the other kernels, such as terebinths, almonds, nuts, pistachios, and the like.⁶

¹ This is not the wellknown *man*, which is collected from oak trees in Northern Mesopotamia, and sold as far away as Persia, where they prepare several kinds of cakes from it, after clarifying the resinous substance. It may be had in the markets of Mārdīn, Mōṣul, Baghdād, Baṣra and Aleppo, as it is not expensive. Against this see DALMAN, G., *Palästina-jahrbuch*, XVII, 1921, pp. 73-5, „Das Manna auf dem Markt von Jerusalem“.

² Almonds, too, may be grafted on it.

³ This information the writer received from the Syrian-Jacobite Bishop of Jerusalem, a native of Mārdīn.

⁴ Before the War an *ölček* = a *ṭabbe* (approximately 24 kilogr.) of *māḥlab* fruit cost 30-40 Turkish gold piastres.

⁵ The same applies in Jerusalem to the use of the kernel, which is pounded and put in a clean white cloth, bound tightly and given to children suffering from gripes. The verb for this procedure is *marraṭ*. As a potion (*siqye*) it is administered to children against gastritis and other stomach disorders. It is also mixed with rose water (*ma ward*) and applied as an embrocation to babies either until they are weaned or, more usually until their seventh month. The parts of the body which are rubbed with this mixture are the back of the ears, neck, breasts, armpits and the abdomen. The husks of the kernels are used for "smoking" the child (*tabḥīr*) against spirits and the effects of the evil eye.

⁶ I could not learn whether it is used in Turkey for the manufacture of large-sized furniture, as in the case of the *Ḥalanj Yamāni* (Dozy, l. c.).

When the fruit is still unripe the stone is peeled and strung into rosaries. They hang in bands of three or four, around children's necks and under one arm-pit, in groups of five beads, being separated by a tiny silver bead. These rosaries are hung round children's bodies in order to improve the body exhalation, but primarily to protect them against the hot wind (known in Northern Mesopotamia as *il-hawa-s-šābli*), as well as against contagious diseases.¹ The beads may be coloured red before being used. The size of the stone is less than half of a pistachio nut.

In Behesne (North-north-east of 'Aintāb) the wood is used for boxes serving as receptacles for linen. The turners in north-eastern Turkey prefer it to many other sorts. In Mār'aš cups and other vessels are made from the *māḥlab* wood, as are also bowls for sour milk, but no furniture. More usually vessels are made from the more compact wood of the common plane tree (*šinār*).

¹ Similarly wool or cotton-wool dipped into tar, wrapped in a piece of cloth, is hung round the neck of very young camels or foals to ward off any illness to which they are liable.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS*

H. DANBY

(JERUSALEM)

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I hope you will sympathize with my uneasiness in accepting the invitation to act as President of the Palestine Oriental Society for 1934. I greatly appreciate the honour but I am well aware how undeserved the honour is. It is enough to read the rota of Past Presidents to realize the dignity of the position and how difficult it is to rise to its demands.

The first President, in 1920, was Père LAGRANGE. That he should have consented to be the first President at once lent the highest possible distinction to the Society: following so great a man and so great a scholar, inevitably all his successors, no matter how distinguished, felt themselves honoured to hold the office first graced by Père LAGRANGE.

He was followed in turn by Professor GARSTANG, Professor ALBRIGHT, Père DHORME, Mr. (now Canon) PHYTHIAN-ADAMS, the late Dr. MAX MARGOLIS, the late Père ORFALI, Dr. CANAAN, Père MALLON, Mr. RICHMOND, Père ABEL, Dr. MAYER, Mr. NEUVILLE and, last year, Mr. CROWFOOT. I know of no other Society in Palestine which can boast such a succession of leaders with such wide reputation; certainly there cannot be many societies to-day better able to demonstrate, and to demonstrate so emphatically, the wide appeal of Palestinian studies, and their power of rising superior to any national or religious barriers.

The past fourteen Presidents, each in his own distinguished way, illustrate the immense variety in the field which is covered in modern Palestinian studies. I need not develop this point: but I think there is scarcely a single aspect of Palestinian research, from the most ancient to the most modern, from the most academic to the most practical, that does not have its well known representative in our panel of Past Presidents.

* Delivered at the sixtieth General Meeting of the Society, January 24, 1934.

This last year the Society has had the benefit of Mr. CROWFOOT's guidance as President. To speak to a Palestine audience of Mr. CROWFOOT's work in Palestine is not necessary. It is even presumptuous. I do not need to speak of his actual work as Director of the British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem—except to regret that public support given to the British School is so meagre and so incommensurate both with the talents of its Director and with the vast possible field of work which is to-day open to the School. I would only wish to point out how fortunate Palestine should consider itself that such men as Mr. CROWFOOT, who have already devoted years of their life to work in a wider area of the Near East, in the field of education or of archaeology—that such men should deliberately make choice of *Palestine* as the field of work in which to apply their matured powers and experience.

With this meeting the Society enters its fifteenth year. To all of us it must be a matter of great regret that our founder, Professor ALBERT CLAY, is no longer alive to take pride in the Society's survival, and, in his characteristic way, to point out its deficiencies and thrust it vigorously forward into more strenuous activity. Knowing as we do the fate of so many well-meaning societies started in Palestine during the past fifteen years, we are conscious of positive achievement in being, after so long a time, not merely alive, but slightly more active and prosperous than we have ever been before.

There were moments when we felt that the Society threatened to become moribund (that, I ought to say in passing, was when Dr. ALBRIGHT was about to be transferred from Palestine to Baltimore); but you all know how promptly that feeling was dispelled when, in 1929, our irresistible and incomparable Dr. CANAAN took control. He has whipped new life into the Society, increased the number of members, widened the circle of contributors to the *Journal*, and now proposes to increase the size of the *Journal* and also, I hope, its number of illustrations. We are proud, and rightly so, of our Secretary. We might also, I think, recognize the very advanced and modernist character of his methods of government! It is true that we have a Constitution, and a fairly democratic one (but copies of it are scarce and not many members can be familiar with it); in practice, however, the Society has

discovered that where students and scholarship are concerned, the ideal form of government is not by Committee but—by Dictator! Constant meetings of committees, procedure by resolution of committees—these have no place in the working of the Society; and a very sound justification can be put forward. The student or scholar's most valuable possession is his leisure: it is often his only wealth: to take away his leisure is to take away his most precious possession: and does life to-day know any more greedy and insatiable devourer of leisure than committees!

It is, I am convinced, this mild dictatorship, so attractively exemplified in our Secretary, which goes far to account for the smooth and successful working of the Palestine Oriental Society. It is true that there *is* a committee of directors, but I think I am right in saying that they function but once in the year, and they are chosen, I believe, with the object of assisting the Dictator, the Secretary, rather than of controlling him! Imagine—controlling Dr. CANAAN!

But in speaking of the pillars of our Society, it is good to remember how much we owe to Dr. ALBRIGHT. Both during the ten years when I had the honour of being the Society's Secretary, and even during the past four years, when Dr. ALBRIGHT has mostly been out of Palestine—through the whole of these fourteen years the force which has kept us dignified and steady, the "ballast" of the Society, has ever been Dr. ALBRIGHT. We have felt ourselves borne safely along in the wake of his great and ever growing reputation. Also (here I speak as the Editor of the Journal during fourteen years) whenever there has arisen a piece of work of unusual difficulty, or a grimly disagreeable task of editing, it is always to Dr. ALBRIGHT that we have instinctively turned, and never in vain.

* * * * *

I propose, as the subject of this Presidential Address, to discuss briefly the place and possible value of the *Mishnah* in the field of Palestinian research.

There is scarcely need to argue that a great Palestinian document like the *Mishnah*, compiled in Palestine, describing life and civilization in Palestine, expressly intended to preserve details of religion,

mode of life and government in Palestine during the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era, and even during earlier centuries—there is scarcely need to argue that such a document should be consulted by those who seek to unveil the past of Palestine. It always has been so used and consulted.

But, at the same time, it has generally been considered an inaccessible tool, to be waved about mysteriously by a remoter type of specialist, a tool which the non-specialist may only use at his peril. The Mishnah has shared the reputation of the Talmud as a whole and been considered remote, esoteric, impracticable; and not many have been found willing to spend over much time in the study of its supposedly difficult language and crabbed style. It has never been an object of familiar and habitual use—for three reasons: its inaccessibility, the difficulty in its use, and the doubt as to its value. Yet there is a case for including the Mishnah in the same class of documents as the works of Josephus and the Apocryphal and Pseudepigraphical writings, and for studying it habitually and systematically with the same critical scrutiny which we find it proper and advantageous to bestow on the *Greek* Palestinian literature.

Let us look at the subject under those three heads: a) the Mishnah's alleged inaccessibility, b) its difficulty in use, and c) the doubt as to its value.

But first, in case there should be some here who are not familiar with the general character of the Mishnah, may I describe it very shortly. It is the document, written in Hebrew, which provides the text to which the Talmud is a huge, miscellaneous commentary. The Mishnah itself is not an unmanageably long work: it is, roughly, two or three times the length of the New Testament. It is in six main divisions and 63 subdivisions, which, between them, cover the laws, customs and traditions which were in force, or which were imagined as being in force, or which were thought of as things which should have been in force, during that period when Jewish religious and national life in Palestine was untrammelled and unrestricted. This collection first began to be deliberately put together soon after the Romans' destruction of the Temple; the collection was worked over and argued over by following generations of Jewish religious leaders, and two or three

times it was systematically overhauled and re-cast, in approximately the years 120 and 160 A.D.; finally, it was very cleverly edited, in the form we have it now, about the year 200. The purpose of this final editing was to present the traditional material in such a form as to leave clear the layers of superimposed argument and opinion which had grown round the earlier collection of laws and customs.

To return now to our three points.

First, the inaccessibility of the Mishnah.

A working knowledge of Old Testament Hebrew is not enough to unlock the Mishnah's contents; and with the decrease these days of those who trouble to learn any Hebrew at all, the Mishnah has either to be translated or left buried in obscurity. About a third of its 63 subdivisions have, in the course of the last three hundred years, been translated into western languages and published as separate fragments. But this fragmentary presentation actually tends to confuse any real understanding of the Mishnah: it obscures the very systematic quality of the whole, and it does not sufficiently familiarize the reader with the Mishnah's method: and until the reader can grasp the Mishnah's method he can never estimate aright the Mishnah's value.

In 1698 the Dutchman SURENHUSIUS brought together existing translations, filled up the blanks, and published the complete Mishnah in Latin in six folio volumes; and in 1760 a complete German version was published by JOHANN JACOB RABE in six volumes quarto. These two versions (cumbersome and rare though they are) have been the only complete versions available for the non-specialist during the last two centuries.

The past generation has seen an improvement. Some years ago a complete German translation of the Babylonian Talmud became available, and still earlier there was published a French translation of the Palestinian Talmud; both of these, of course, included the Mishnah—though hardly in a form which made it easy of access, to say nothing of the excessive cost. Then, since 1912, steady but extremely slow progress has been made with the "Giessen Edition" of the Mishnah (the work of German Protestant scholars); this now includes 24 of the 63 subdivisions; it threatens to take at least ten more years to complete, and its cost is not likely to be less than

forty pounds, or 3,200 francs. Last summer the "Sammter-Hoffmann Edition" (the work of orthodox Jewish scholars) was finished, forty-six years after the appearance of the first part! For those who look for the Hebrew text, a moderately full commentary, and a German translation, this is the best existing edition; though this again is costly (approximately ten pounds sterling, or 800 francs). Finally, a month ago, the Oxford University Press published a complete English text in one volume with a slender commentary. This edition has the advantages of being complete, of having a full index, and costing only 18 shillings, or 72 francs.

To a certain extent, therefore, inaccessibility, as an obstacle to the use and study of the Mishnah by the non-Rabbinic specialist, is being overcome.

The second obstacle which we mentioned was the difficulty in use. By this I mean the danger (of which warning examples are innumerable) always lying in wait for those who draw haphazard and uncritically from the Mishnah's statements for illustrative matter or contemporary information, when such hoped-for help is wrongly expected or else wrongly interpreted. To take one familiar example: there is that voluminous literature on the subject of the trial narratives in the Gospels, turning mainly on a comparison of the procedure as described in the New Testament, and the legal procedure as laid down in minute detail in the Mishnah. Both Gentile and Jewish writers have rushed in and argued about the legality or illegality of the Gospel trial, taking for granted the validity of the Mishnah's material as a description of historical usage in the early part of the 1st century. Only a more exact understanding of the method underlying the Mishnah-compilation can lead to any worth-while result and enable us to decide what elements in the Mishnah-tradition can be relied upon for any particular purpose.

It is the characteristic of the Mishnah to record law and custom and specific episodes sometimes, so to speak, on their own merits, in their own right; and sometimes as being correct or incorrect only in so far as they conform with early, written legislation in the Pentateuch. This can be most confusing. A reader is often at a loss to know whether he is learning about historic usage, or whether he is merely listening to an academic reconstruction of the past based on a theory which never was applied in real life;

the reader is at a loss to know whether he is learning about what once took place or about what certain Jewish teachers believed *ought* to have taken place. That is on the debit side. On the credit side, the reader has to bear in mind that much of the apparently academic application of Scripture, so typical in the Mishnah and often so wearisome to follow—he has to bear in mind that this is in reality an attempt, often a very forced and artificial attempt, to weave a fabric of Scriptural authority around some well-established, jealously guarded custom which had crept into use some time in the forgotten past, independently of any rule in the Written Law. That is to say, the point around which arises the most academic debate is, in reality, an item of genuine historical use. A typical example of this is the number “twenty-three” which constituted the membership of the Sanhedrin.

But it is possible to exaggerate this difficulty. As I have already said, it can in a measure be solved by familiarity with the Mishnah’s methodology. Yet it is, nevertheless, an ever-present source of difficulty and danger in the unwary and uncritical use of the Mishnah.

This leads us to the third obstacle which stands in the way of the familiar and habitual use of the Mishnah—doubt about the *value* of the Mishnah’s evidence.

Let me state this doubt in its most extreme form.

The Mishnah appears to be a purely artificial refurbishing and restatement of the legal portions of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy, in an elaborated form, which never was, and never could have been, applied in practice; it was drawn up in a language already long dead, and in a form of the language which had never any living existence; it is a dry and academic piece of work which bears clear witness to the mental acuteness of its authors but still clearer witness to their lack of historical sense and knowledge, their absence of literary feeling, and their inability to appreciate the plain sense of Scripture.

That, of course, is the extreme statement of the case. Yet the interesting point is that this judgement is the one that appeals most readily on one’s first introduction to the contents, language and method of the Mishnah. The features which strike the newcomer are precisely that tendency to merely academic completeness, that indifference to historical reality, that drab and unlovely literary style,

and that outrageous mishandling of the literal sense of Scripture.

Closer acquaintance with the Mishnah's methods, language and contents serves to modify these first impressions. Prejudices and preconceived standards give place to a willingness to let the Mishnah display its material in its own way: we have to take it for what it is and submit to its mannerisms. When, gradually, we succeed in penetrating the difficulties caused by its outward form, its own special emphasis and religious standpoint, there is then a very wide field indeed of Palestinian life revealed to us, sufficient to appeal, directly or indirectly, to a variety of interests—archaeology, folklore, comparative religion, jurisprudence, philology, and even primitive physical science.

Even the Hebrew of the Mishnah, once condemned (and by some still condemned) as nothing but Aramaic translated into an extremely dead and petrified Hebrew—even that will be found to be a form of Hebrew inherently vital. An indirect proof of this is seen in the modern revival of Hebrew: modern Hebrew found itself able to turn into a useable, practical, living speech, capable of growth and adaptability, only when it abandoned its experiments with Biblical Hebrew and the medieval literary forms of the language, and reverted to the Mishnah-stage of the language.

And that, I should say, is characteristic of one's general experience with the Mishnah. There is that very obvious shell of artificiality, varying in thickness and hardness from place to place and from subject to subject; yet there can nearly always be found a satisfying kernel, richly stocked with information about Palestinian life, information quite encyclopedic in some subjects, in others quite embarrassing in its intimacy; sometimes revolting in its dispassionate and almost scientific pursuit of detail, and other times compelling respect by its lofty moral standards.

We have to remember that, whatever its method, the Mishnah's purpose was to be a preservative: however much we may dislike the methods, our task is to discover what has been preserved. What interested the Mishnah's editors does not always interest us: but even in a subject so unpromising at first sight as ceremonial uncleanness, much can be found worth the gathering; for in the course of it we learn about every possible item—furniture, domestic utensils, clothing, architectural detail, even drainage—in the Palestinian

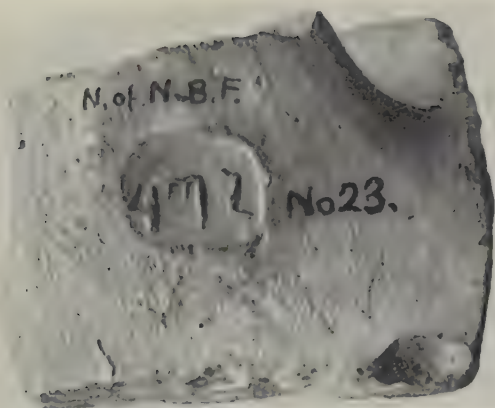


Fig. 1.

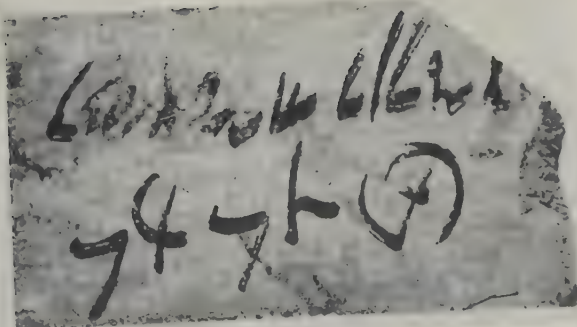


Fig. 2.

EFOD UND TERAFIGM

E. SELLIN

(BERLIN)

Über das altisraelitische *efod* ist in den letzten Jahrzehnten soviel geschrieben, daß man sich fast scheut, das Problem noch einmal wieder aufzunehmen, und wohl auf die Vermutung kommen könnte, daß unsere Quellen überhaupt nicht ausreichen, um zu einem allgemein anerkannten Resultate zu gelangen.

Ich beabsichtige aber auch nicht, zu den mancherlei von anderen wie von mir selbst¹ schon versuchten Deutungen des geheimnisvollen Gegenstandes hier noch eine neue hinzuzufügen, glaube aber, daß man eine auch schon früher geäußerte auf einem bis jetzt m. W. von anderen noch nicht betretenen Wege besser und sicherer als bisher begründen kann.

Da es zwei Stellen in der alten Literatur gibt, in denen das umstrittene Objekt, das *efod*, in engster Verbindung mit dem *terafim* steht Hos. 3⁴; Richt. 17⁵ ff, scheint es mir der methodisch richtige Weg zu sein, zu versuchen, von dem *terafim* aus hinter das Geheimnis zu kommen, was es um das vorexilische *efod* an all den Stellen gewesen ist, an denen es sich nicht um das leinene Priesterkleid, das *efod bad*, 1. Sam. 2¹⁸; 2. Sam. 6¹⁴, handeln kann.

Nun könnte man ja freilich hiergegen einwenden, daß auch die Bedeutung des *terafim* nicht vollständig unbestritten sei. Aber das läßt sich doch mit vollster Bestimmtheit sagen, daß *terafim* eine Bezeichnung von Gottesbildern gewesen sein muß. Die Meinungsverschiedenheit beginnt erst da, wo man geglaubt hat, die Kategorie der *terafim* anderen Gottesbildern gegenüber näher umgrenzen zu können.

In erster Linie hat man bekanntlich geglaubt, an einen Hausgott denken zu müssen, und zwar auf Grund von Gen. 31¹⁹ ff., allenfalls auch Richt. 17⁵ ff. Aber es muß doch demgegenüber festgestellt werden, daß in der größeren Anzahl von Stellen, wo uns das Wort begegnet, diese Deutung als viel zu eng begrenzt erscheint, und es

¹ Vgl. SELLIN, 'Das altisraelitische Ephod' in *Nöldekefestschrift*, 1906, S. 699 ff; *Geschichte des isr.-jüd. Volkes* I, 1924, S. 134 f; *Alttestamentl. Theologie*, I, 1933, S. 48 f.

sich vielmehr um ein Gottesbild überhaupt handelt, wobei es sich natürlich gelegentlich auch einmal auf einen Hausgott beziehen kann, vgl. Hos. 3⁴; 2. Kön. 23²⁴; 1. Sam. 15²³; Ez. 21²⁶; Sach. 10².

Eine andere Umgrenzung ist die Deutung auf einen Orakelgott, und in der Tat ist nicht zu leugnen, daß diese Bedeutung in den meisten Fällen zutrifft, nämlich, abgesehen von den meisten der zuletzt genannten Stellen, auch in Richt. 17⁵ ff. Andererseits erscheint sie in anderen Stellen, besonders Gen. 31¹⁹ ff; 1. Sam. 19¹³ ff. doch auch wieder als zu eng, ganz abgesehen davon, daß die Grenze zwischen Orakelgöttern und solchen Göttern, die dies nicht sind, überhaupt eine verschwimmende ist.

Ist es mithin unmöglich, den *terafim* als Bezeichnung einer besonderen Kategorie von Gottesbildern zu erklären, — auch eine Beschränkung auf ein solches in Menschengestalt, die in 1. Sam. 19¹³ ff. offenkundig ist, ist an anderen Stellen unmöglich, mag sie auch meistens das weitaus Wahrscheinlichere sein, — so drängt sich die Erklärung von J. Löw ('Teraphim', *Wiener Zeitschrift f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes* X, 1896, S. 136; *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 73, 1929, S. 314), der auch L. KÖHLER (*RGC*² 1931) zugestimmt hat — vgl. auch LODS, *Israel*, 1930, S. 500 — zweifellos als die beste auf, daß das Wortoriginal überhaupt nicht Bezeichnung irgendeiner besonderen Art von Gottesbildern gewesen ist, sondern eine sog. Kakophonie, ein Spottwort an Stelle des ursprünglich allgemein üblichen Wortes für „Gottesbild“ *elohim* (daher auch der Plural) wie *schiquuzim*, *gillulim*, *elilim*. Mit Recht verweist Löw darauf, daß die Besitzer der Gottesbilder selbst immer *elohaj* sagen Gen. 31³⁰; Richt. 18²⁴; während die Erzähler dies Wort nicht in den Mund nehmen, sondern dafür *terafim* gebrauchen. Aus der Mischnasprache ist ersichtlich, daß dies Wort (vgl. *turpa* — *pudendum*) etwa Schandbild bedeutet haben kann, wie es auch schon BUXTORF erklären wollte, falls es nicht mit *raphah*, *schwach sein*, zusammenhängt und etwa den *ohnmächtigen* bedeutet (vgl. *elilim*).

Ich habe nun bereits selbst (*Alttest. Theol.* I, S. 48) darauf hingewiesen, daß wir noch fast mit Sicherheit die Entstehungszeit dieses Sprachgebrauches nachweisen können, nämlich die Zeit der Propheten Hosea und Jesaja. Jener verbietet geradezu die bis dahin übliche Bezeichnung der Jahwebilder als *elohim* 8⁶; 14⁴; und ver-

wendet dafür Spottbezeichnungen wie *‘azabbim* oder *‘ez* 4^{12·17}: 8⁴; 10⁶; 13² und eben in 3⁴ *terafim* wie Jesaja *elilim* 2^{8ff}. In 2. Kön. 23²⁴ stehen daher *terafim*, *gillulim* und *schiquzim* neben einander. Nur in einigen älteren Texten ist das *elohim* als Bezeichnung eines Jahwebildes stehen geblieben, vermutlich, weil man es anders deutete, (teils als *Götze*, teils als *Richter* oder *Priester*), Ex. 21⁶; 22⁷; 32¹; 34^{17·1}. Sonst hat man es hinfort nur noch da gebraucht, wo es sich um andere Götter, um Götzenbilder handelte, Gen. 35⁴; 1. Kön. 14⁹; 1. Chron. 14¹²; 2. Chron. 25¹⁴; wenn man es stellenweise auch dort durch *‘azabbim* oder dergl. ersetzt hat, vgl. 2. Sam. 5²¹ mit 1. Chron. 14¹².

Müssen wir also annehmen, daß in Richt. 17^{5ff} und Hos. 3⁴ der *terafim* ein Jahwebild bedeutet, — daß sämtliche Jahwebilder nicht original israelitisch, sondern Imitation von ausländischen, meistens kanaanäischen Bildern waren, interessiert uns hier nicht, — so ist es damit sicher bewiesen, daß das beide Male davor stehende und eng mit ihm verbundene *efod* auf keinen Fall ein wirkliches Bild war, daß es sich bei diesem vielmehr um ein mit dem Jahwebilde engstens verbundenes anderweitiges Objekt handelt. Das ist in Richt. 17f daraus klar ersichtlich, daß im Fortgange der Erzählung nur von einem, nicht von zwei Gottesbildern die Rede ist 18^{24·31}, (an letzterer Stelle hat der Schlußredaktor aus der Parallelquelle für *efod uterafim* das eine Wort *pesel* eingesetzt, in Vers 27 hat er jene einfach wegestrichen). *Efod*, und *elohim*, bzw *terafim* zusammen müssen mithin einen Gegenstand, ein Gottesbild gebildet haben.

Zu genau dem gleichen Schlusse wird man durch Hos. 3⁴ geführt. Hier zeigt der Umstand, daß vor dem *terafim* nicht wie in den beiden anderen Parallelgliedern des Verses ein *wen* gesetzt ist, deutlich, daß *efod* und *terafim* zwar zwei verschiedene Objekte sind, aber doch solche, die viel enger miteinander verbunden sind als König und Oberste, Schlachtopfer und Mazzeben, daß sie wiederum einen Gegenstand bilden.

Um welches Objekt es sich aber dann bei dem *efod* handelt, kann kaum umstritten werden. Wir wissen, daß das *efod bad* in vorexilischer Zeit ein Gewandstück des amtierenden Priesters war,

¹ Auch die vielumstrittene Stelle Am. 5²⁶ scheint mir einfach so verstanden werden zu müssen, daß der Grundtext nur lautete: *Und habt ihr getragen das Zelt eures Königs und euer Gottesbild, das ihr euch gemacht habt?* Alles andere ist Glosse, vgl. m. Kommentar z. St.

1. Sam. 2¹⁸; daß das *efod* in nachexilischer Zeit das wichtigste und heiligste Kleidungsstück des Hohenpriesters war, aus kostbarem Material gearbeitet, mit Edelsteinen verziert und seinerseits wiederum als das Wichtigste die Orakeltasche mit den *urim* und *tummim* tragend Ex. 28 vgl. Num. 27²¹. Weiter begegnet uns in einem Zusatz zum Jesajabuch 30²² das Wort *apuddah* als Bezeichnung eines Gewandes eines goldenen Gußbildes. Endlich bestätigt 2. Kön. 23⁷; daß auch die Israeliten die Sitte, den Götterbildern Kleider umzuhängen, gekannt haben.¹ Es drängt sich danach ohne weiteres der Schluß auf, daß das *efod* in den beiden genannten Stellen nichts anderes war als ein Gewandstück, welches dem Gottesbilde umgelegt wurde, um mit seiner Hilfe Orakel von diesem einzuholen, an welchem eine Tasche saß, die von dem Priester geschüttelt werden konnte.

Ehe wir dazu übergehen zu prüfen, ob sich diese Deutung auch an den anderen Stellen bewährt, in denen der *terafim* nicht auf das *efod* folgt, wollen wir noch auf eine andere Stelle bei Hosea hinweisen, die uns bestätigt, daß dieser Gottesbild und Orakeltasche auf engste miteinander verbunden gekannt hat, es ist 4¹². Es erscheint mir nach V. b nicht zweifelhaft, daß Hosea hier das *‘ez*, das Holz verächtlich braucht an Stelle des im Volksmunde üblichen *ša’al b’elohim* wie er an anderen Stellen *‘azabbim* bzw. *terafim* dafür einsetzt vgl. Hab. 2¹⁹; Jes. 45²⁰. Die Orakelerteilung seitens dieses erfolgt aber durch den *maqal* d. i. den Orakel- oder Losstab, der vor dem Bild herausfällt, der mit diesem also ohne weiteres gegeben ist wie sonst die *urim* und *tummim* mit dem *efod*.

Überblickt man nun die sämtlichen Stellen, an denen uns in den vorexilischen Quellen das *efod* begegnet, welches nicht das Priestergewand sein kann,² nämlich Richt. 8²⁷; 1. Sam. 14³⁻¹⁸ (LXX); 21¹⁰; 22¹⁸; 23⁶⁻⁹; 1. Kön. 2²⁶; (text. em.) so ergibt sich, daß das Wort jedenfalls überall da auftaucht, wo es sich um ein mittels Schütteln der Efodtasche Orakel spendendes Gottesbild handelt (vgl. zur Sache auch Ez. 21²⁶; wo man frei übersetzen kann: *durch Schütteln der Pfeile befragt er den terafim*). Ist das bei 1. Sam. 14^{3-18-36ff}; 23⁶⁻⁹; 30⁷; 1. Kön. 2²⁶ ohne weiteres deutlich, so wird

¹ In Am. 5²⁶ ist wohl von einem über das Bild gespannten Baldachin die Rede.

² Um von anderen Gründen hierfür wie den 1700 Seqeln des Gideon, dem *achare* in Nob 1. Sam. 21¹⁰ u. dergl. abzusehen, nennen wie hier nur die mit diesem *efod* verbundenen Prädikate *hizzig*, *nasa*, *hiqqisch*.

man auch bei Richt. 8^{27a} durch V. b: *Und ganz Israel hurte hinter ihm dort her und so wurde es dem Gideon und seinem Hause zum Fallstrick* unter Heranziehung von Hos. 4¹² als Parallelstelle darauf geführt, daß wenigstens der Verfasser dieses Satzes die Handlung Gideons in V.a als Sünde beurteilt hat, weil er durch die Ausstellung des *efod* seine Volksgenossen zu Einholung von Orakeln bei einem Gottesbild, das für jenen wie für Hosea ein Götze ist, verführt habe, vgl. Deut. 21¹⁰; Lev. 20⁵ und Deut. 7¹⁶; Ex. 23³³. Und ebenso muß sich das *efod* von 1. Sam. 21¹⁰ schon nach 22¹⁰⁻¹³; ganz abgesehen von 23^{6ff} usw., auf ein Orakel spendendes Gottesbild beziehen.

Aber eine schwer zu beantwortende Frage erhebt sich dann: Wie kommt es, daß in diesen 9 Stellen immer nur vom *efod* geredet wird, nicht, wie wir nach Richt. 17^{5ff.}, Hos. 3⁴, oestimmt erwarten müßten, von *efod und elohim* bzw. *terafim*? Darauf lassen sich drei Antworten geben.

1) Es ist möglich, daß man sich schon in alter Zeit daran gewöhnt hatte, statt des etwas umständlichen *efod welohim* auch einfach *efod* zu sagen, und dies umso leichter, weil dieses bei der Orakeleinholung das eigentliche Medium der Handlung des Priesters war vgl. 1. Sam. 28⁶. Es läge dann eine dem Hebräischen auch sonst geläufige Synekdoche vor (*pars pro toto*), wie sie uns z.B. auch in dem *urim* 1. Sam. 28⁶; Num. 27²¹ statt des eigentlichen *urim watummim* begegnet vgl. ED. KÖNIG, *Lehrgebäude* III, S. 57ff; so z. B. GESENIUS-BUHL, *Hebräisches Lexikon*.

2) Es ist möglich, daß an allen diesen Stellen ursprünglich *elohim* statt des *efod* gestanden hat, und daß jenes aus demselben Motive, aus dem seit dem 8. Jahrhundert für *elohim terafim* usw. gesagt wurde, durch das harmlose *efod* ersetzt wurde, weil man also die Benutzung von Jahwebildern für Sünde hielt und nicht wollte, daß fromme Helden wie Gideon und David und Priester wie Achijjah, Achimelek und Ebjatar bloßgestellt und belastet würden.¹ Man hielt sich zu dieser Änderung für berechtigt, da man wußte, daß *efod* und *elohim* einst aufs engste zusammengehörten und beide bei der Orakeleinholung ihre Rolle gespielt hatten. Die Annahme von

¹ Der *terafim* von 1. Sam. 19^{18ff} wurde auf Rechnung der Michal geschrieben den Labans von Gen. 31^{19ff} betrachtete man als von Jaqob 35^{2ff} beseitigt. Den Kult des Micha in Jud. 17f wollte man diffamieren; das aber war bei dem eines David ausgeschlossen.

solchen späteren Änderungen aus dogmatischen Gründen wird gerade bei diesen Stellen prinzipiell als berechtigt dadurch erwiesen, daß, während die LXX in 1. Sam. 14¹⁸ das ältere *efod* noch liest, MT hier wie in 1. Kön. 2²⁶ ein *aron haelohim* bzw. *adonaj Jahwe* dafür eingesetzt hat, beide Male, weil das dem *nasa* nachfolgende *liphne Israel* bzw. *liphne David* die an den anderen Stellen entfernt mögliche Umdeutung auf das Priesterkleid direkt unmöglich machte.

Es ist aber noch ein spezieller Grund vorhanden, der gerade in 1. Sam. 14 die Annahme einer solchen nachträglichen Korrektur nahelegt. In V. 36 ist an Stelle des jetzigen Textes נִקְרָבָה zweifellos, indem das נ als Dittographie des vorausgehenden zu streichen ist, zu lesen: קָרָבָה (vgl. Ps. 69¹⁹) d.i.: tritt hierher heran zu dem *elohim* vgl. den parallelen Befehl in V. 38, auch Ex. 22⁷ und 3⁵. Der überlieferte Text: wir wollen hierher zu dem *elohim* treten ist unmöglich; er würde einen inneren Widerspruch enthalten, da der Priester selbstverständlich sich an der Stelle des hier d.i. an der Stelle des Gottesbildes befindet, also nicht mit wir sprechen kann. Dann aber steht dies *elohim* an der Stelle des *efod* von V. 3 und 18, d.h. aber, dem Korrigenten ist diese Stelle nur, weil er sie anders deutete, entgangen. So können wir es als höchst wahrscheinlich bezeichnen, daß auch in V. 3 und 18 ursprünglich *elohim* gestanden hat; zu V. 18 vgl. auch Ex. 32¹¹; Am. 5²⁶ (siehe oben).

Daß dieselbe Annahme auch in Richt. 8^{27a} sehr viel für sich hat, läßt sich nicht leugnen. Vers b ist, wie allgemein anerkannt ist, ein späterer Zusatz zu der alten Quelle, aber er macht es wieder sehr wahrscheinlich, daß sein Verfasser in dieser noch *elohim* und noch nicht *efod* vorgefunden hat, vgl. zu dem Ausdruck hinter jemandem *herhuren* Deut. 21¹⁰; Lev. 20⁵ und zu dem *Fallstrick* Deut. 7¹⁶; Ex. 23³³. Die Änderung in *efod* hätten wir daher erst nach diesem, vermutlich deuteronomistischen Zusatz anzunehmen. Auch MOORE (*Richtercommentar*) und ELHORST (*ZAW* 1910 S. 259ff) traten dafür ein, daß hier ursprünglich *elohim* gestanden habe.

Wahrscheinlich ist endlich auch aus 1. Sam. 22¹⁰⁻¹³⁻¹⁵, wo ursprünglich überall *haelohim* stand (vgl. LXX; auch Hos. 4¹²; Ez. 21²⁶; desgl. Richt. 18⁵), der Schluß zu ziehen, daß auch in 21¹⁰ an Stelle des jetzigen *haefod* ursprünglich ein *haelohim* stand. Zu der Rede des Doeg bzw. Saul konnte der Korrigent den ursprünglichen Ausdruck stehen lassen, weil man ihn hier bei der Lesung *b'elohim*

auch anders deuten konnte, nämlich als *Gott befragen*, weswegen MT in Vers 10 sogar den Text in *byahweh* geändert hat.

3) Es ist möglich, daß in allen oder wenigstens einigen der besprochenen Stellen ursprünglich genau wie in Richt. 17^{5ff}; Hos. 3⁴ ein *efod w'elohim* bzw. *uterafim* gestanden hat, und daß letzteres später wiederum, um nicht die frommen Männer der Vorzeit zu belasten, einfach überall weggestrichen ist.

Eine definitive Entscheidung zwischen den drei genannten Möglichkeiten kann man kaum treffen; wir halten die zweite für die wahrscheinlichste. Es ist aber auch denkbar, daß gar nicht alle Stellen in der gleichen Weise zu erklären sind, daß bei einigen von ihnen diese, bei anderen jene Erklärung ihre Berechtigung hat. Doch in jedem Falle hat es sich in allen diesen Stellen um Orakeleinholungen gehandelt, die mittels des *efod* bei einem Gottesbilde herbeigeführt wurden. Die Form, in der sich das vollzog, wird uns in 1. Sam. 14^{34b-42} (LXX) dankenswert eingehend geschildert (MT hat hier freilich — aus Unkenntnis oder Absicht? — starke Verwirrung angerichtet). Wir betonen nur noch, daß allem Anschein nach der Laie die Frage stellte, der Priester aber die Lostasche schüttelte (14^{19f}), woraus sich der Ausdruck *den Gott für jemanden befragen* 22^{10ff} genügend erklärt. Auch, darauf sei noch aufmerksam gemacht, daß offenbar, nachdem der Priester feierlich aufgefordert hatte: *tritt herzu zu dem elohim*, der das Orakel einholende Laie ebenfalls feierlich seine Frage mit dem: *Jahwe, du Gott Israels* eröffnete 14⁴¹ (LXX); 23¹¹.

Es bleibt nun noch die letzte Frage übrig: Wann ist aus dem Gottesgewand das priesterliche Orakelgewand geworden, wie es uns in der nachexilischen Zeit entgegentritt, wenn auch hier als ausschließlich für den Hohenpriester reserviert? Ex. 28 usw. Aus allem bis jetzt Gefundenen ergibt sich im allgemeinen die Antwort: Seitdem man in Übereinstimmung mit den oben genannten Schriftpropheten es ablehnte, Orakel von Jahwebildern einzuholen. Wollte man nun auf das Orakel nicht überhaupt verzichten — und dagegen wird sich trotz allen Vordringens des Nebiismus zunächst natürlich die Priesterschaft wie das Volk aufs stärkste aufgelehnt haben vgl. Prov. 16³³ —, so war es das denkbar Nächstliegende, daß sich der Priester selbst bei der Gottesbefragung das Orakelgewand mit der Lostasche umlegte, war er doch bereits seit alters bei seinen sonstigen amtlichen Funktionen mit dem *efod bad* umgürtet. Der Zeitpunkt

des offiziellen Verschwindens des *efod* als des Gewandes eines Jahwebildes — von gelegentlichen späteren Ausnahmen zeugt Jes. 30²² — würde also etwa der Ausgang des 8. Jahrhunderts, das amtliche Verdikt des Hisqia über die Bilder sein. Das Deuteronomium hat es daher nicht mehr nötig, die Anfertigung von *efod* und *terafim* zu verbieten; es ignoriert aber auch schon das technische priesterliche Orakel überhaupt und erkennt nur noch ein Medium der Offenbarung des göttlichen Wortes an, den Propheten 18⁹⁻²². Speziell in Jerusalem, wo die Lade stand, aber kein Jahwebild, wird der Zeitpunkt für das Verschwinden der Orakeleinholung beim Bilde schon viel früher, vielleicht schon in den letzten Jahren Davids anzunehmen sein, wenn auch 2. Kön. 23²⁴ davon zeugt, daß Rückfälle stattgefunden haben.

Die Sitte, daß der Priester sich selbst das Orakelgewand umgürtete, kann aber eine noch beträchtlich längere Vorgeschichte gehabt haben. Nach dem Mosessegen, der vielleicht der ausgehenden Richterzeit, spätestens der Jerobeams I. entstammt, haben die Leviten *urim* und *tummim* als die ihnen zustehenden Insignien betrachtet: *Gib Levi deine tummim und urim dem Manne deiner Huld*, Deut. 33⁸; d. h., der Levistamm muß das Anlegen des Orakelefed, welches eigentlich Jahwe gehörte (vgl. das *deine*), als seine Prärogative seit der mosaischen Ära angesehen haben, die ihm allerdings nach Vers 11 neben anderen Ansprüchen von anderer Seite kräftig bestritten wurden. Er beanspruchte dies aber nach Ex. 32²⁹ gerade, weil er einst die Bilderdiener niedergemetzelt hatte. Dasselbe dürfte aus 1. Sam. 2²⁸ folgen: *Ich habe ihn mir erwählt aus allen Stämmen Israels zum Priester, — das efed vor mir zu tragen*. Cod. Vat. und LXX Lucians lesen das *lphanaj* allerdings nicht, aber es wird durch 2¹⁸ gestützt vgl. Num. 27²¹; und die Streichung erklärt sich leicht durch beabsichtigte Angleichung an 1. Sam. 14⁸; 22¹⁸, wo umgekehrt MT durch Einfügung eines *bad* angeglichen hat, welches LXX nicht liest.

Wie daher in all den Erzählungen, in denen die heilige Lade auftaucht, die Verbindung von *efod* und *elohim* bzw. *terafim* verschwindet, so kann auch sonst schon lange vor Hisqia bald hie bald da, wo Leviten als Orakelpriester amtierten, es üblich gewesen sein, daß sie, die daher auch nach der späteren Zeit als der *mal'ah* *Jahwe* gelten, Mal. 2⁷ vgl. Richt. 5²³ (?), bei der heiligen Handlung

sich selbst den Überrock der Gottheit anlegten und die Lostasche vor der eigenen Brust schüttelten, während da, wo ein Gottesbild vorhanden war, der Priester seine Hand an die vor der Brust dieses befindliche Tasche legte und sie in Bewegung setzte (daher der Befehl Sauls: *Ziehe deine Hand zurück* 1. Sam. 14¹⁹). Es ist möglich, daß die erste Sitte tatsächlich schon bis auf Mose zurückgeht, während in den ersten Jahrhunderten nach der Einwanderung in Kanaan im Zusammenhang mit der starken allgemeinen Inflation kanaanäischer Gottesbilder in den Jahwekult die zweite Sitte zeitweilig die Oberherrschaft erlangte — wir kennen dies Gottesbild mit dem umgehängten bzw. übergezogenen Gewande in Ophra, Dan und Nob —, bis sie durch den Kampf der Propheten gegen die Gottesbilder allmählich verschwand. Darüber, wo und wie man in den Heiligtümern, die kein Gottesbild besaßen, das heilige Orakelkleid aufbewahrt hat, erfahren wir nichts, man wird aber vermutlich an eine Stange oder einen Pfahl im Adyton denken müssen, über die es gehängt war, solange der Priester kein Orakel erteilte.

Absichtlich haben wir es im Vorstehenden ganz vermieden, näher auf die Gestalt des *efod* einzugehen (ob ein Brustgewand, eine Weste oder, was mir immer noch das Wahrscheinlichste ist, nach ägyptischem Muster ein Lendenschurz mit über die Schultern laufenden Gurten, die sich über dem Nacken begegneten, an denen die Tasche saß? (Vgl. d. arab.-syr. *paddan* Joch). Daß manche Einzelheit in der Schilderung von Ex. 28 Ergebnis späterer Umgestaltung und besonders der ausschließlichen Zuspitzung auf den Hohenpriester ist, ist selbstverständlich. Aber als ebenso gewiß erscheint es — man denke an die Zähigkeit im Bewahren alter Kulttrachten —, daß prinzipiell das *efod* (im Unterschied vom *efod bad*) zu allen Zeiten dasselbe gewesen ist, nämlich ein zu göttlichen Entscheidungen angelegter Überwurf, primär der der Gottheit selbst,¹ sekundär bald der eines Gottesbildes, bald der des im Namen der Gottheit Orakel erteilenden Priesters.

Ich glaube, daß diese ja auch schon von anderen, wenigstens ähnlich geäußerte Annahme durch unsere Untersuchung eine neue kräftige Stütze erhalten hat.

¹ Zu dem sonstigen Gewande der Gottheit vgl. Jes. 6²; 59¹⁷; 63^{1ff}; Ps. 104²; Ez. 9²; 28¹⁸; Dan. 7¹¹; 10^{6f}; 12^{6f}; Apoc. 1^{18ff}.

A NEW EGYPTIAN SOURCE FOR THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE AND SYRIA

S. YEIVIN

(TEL-AVIV)

Dr. GEORGE A. REISNER, well known in the history of Palestinian archaeology by his excavations at Samaria during the years 1908–1910,¹ published—in the last issue of the *ÄZ*²—a further instalment of the documentary records found by him in the excavations of the Gebel Barkal (Nubia) complex of sanctuaries.

This instalment deals with a stele of Thothmes III (ca. 1501–1447 B.C.) found in a mutilated state in the temple of Tirhaqa (ca. 689–664 B.C.).³ The stele was apparently first erected in a temple of the XVIIIth dynasty, probably built by Thothmes III (some distance away from the later temple of Tirhaqa), and was removed to Tirhaqa's temple apparently by the latter Pharaoh, who may have intended to re-use it, though this was never accomplished.⁴

According to REISNER⁵ the stele is 173 cms. high, 97 cms. wide and ca. 15 cms. thick. The lower right hand corner has been broken away. As the fracture is badly worn and very ancient, REISNER surmises that the stele was probably broken before Tirhaqa's time. It seems, however, plausible that it may have been broken in the transit, which fact would explain why Tirhaqa—having once removed it to his temple—failed to re-use its back for an inscription of his own. The wear of the top, sides and the edges of the break may have been caused during the removal.

The inscription engraved on the stele is the usual piece of

¹ G. A. REISNER, C. S. FISHER & D. G. LYON, *The Harvard Excavations at Samaria, 1908–1910*, Cambridge, 1924.

² *ÄZ* 69–1, pp. 24–39.

³ The author has already published a preliminary notice on this stele in the *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 1–3, pp. 18–20. The stele is referred to in this article as the G(ebel) B(arkal) stele.

⁴ *ÄZ* 69–1, p. 24. Similar re-uses are not uncommon in Egypt. The classical example is the so-called Israel stele of Merenptah (now in the Cairo Museum) engraved on the back of a stele of Amenophis III.

⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

self-laudatory recital characteristic of such monuments. At the same time it contains several points of interest for the historian of the ancient Near East.

Part of the inscription is devoted to the tale of Pharaoh's mighty deeds in the conquest of his Asianic Empire, and in this part lies the direct interest to Palestinian archaeology.

I am giving this part of the inscription (ll. 8-25) in Dr. REISNER's translation with minor emendations. Where I venture to adopt a different reading or interpretation, the reasons are stated in the foot-notes.

"(l. 8)... A King is he, valiant as *Mntw*; who seizes, but from whom it is not seized;⁶ who trampled (l. 9) all rebellious (foreign) lands; while there was none to save them in *that* (pronoun used expresses contempt) land of *Nhrn*,⁷ which its Lord had deserted for fear (of me).⁸ I laid waste his cities and his tribes,⁹ I burned them with fire,¹⁰ My Majesty turned them into places which had never been settled. I carried off as booty all their people, led away as living captives,¹¹ together with their (l. 10) numberless herds,

⁶ REISNER: "who takes, but from whom no one takes." [] indicates reconstructions of mutilated or missing parts of the inscription, while () denotes words which have been added in the translation—though not in the Egyptian text—to complete the meaning or explain too concise idioms.

⁷ *Nhrn*, the biblical נַחֲרָם-נַחֲרָיִם, is now proved beyond doubt to be identical with the state of Mitanni (see below, p. 219), embracing the territory of the upper courses of the Tigris and Euphrates, down to the latter's tributary the Ḫābōr.

⁸ *n snḏ*; REISNER translates "in fear"; but in Egyptian a state (of body or mind) is expressed by the particle *m*, while the particle *n* employed here gives the reason or cause. The king of Mitanni deserted his country, *because* he was afraid to fight Thohtmes.

⁹ REISNER explains the word *tribes* as "country-side," which in this particular passage seems hardly likely. The contrast expressed here is between the *cities* (*nyw.t.f*), which symbolize the settled, agricultural population, and *tribes* (*whyw.t.f*), the nomadic or semi-nomadic population, mainly dependant on stock-breeding. The contrast implied by REISNER between the city and country-side, which means industrial versus agricultural population, is of a much later date. One must remember that the ancient city, with very few exceptions, was also mainly agricultural, like the large villages of the modern Near East. See also note 104 below.

¹⁰ *dy.n.y ṣḏ.t ym.sn*, REISNER: "I spread fire among them."

¹¹ *ṣqr nḥ*, always denotes the enslaved prisoners of war, as contrasted with those of the enemy slain in battle.

and their chattels likewise. I plundered their food-stuffs, I pulled out their grain; I cut down all their orchards, all their fruit-trees. Their districts became¹² (?). My Majesty destroyed it (the land of *Nhrn*?);¹³ it became a grass-plain (?)¹⁴ (l. 11), which (grows) no trees.

"Now, My Majesty crossed over (by sea) to the northern limits of *sty.t* (the Asianic domains of Egypt, here the limits are the banks of the Euphrates). I caused to be constructed numerous *h*-boats of the cedar of the mountains of God's land (followed by the determinative of 'foreign land,' here the Lebanon) in the neighbourhood of the Mistress of Gebal. They were put on carts,¹⁵ oxen drew them (i. e. the carts). They went (l. 12) before My Majesty in order to cross *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) great stream, which flows between this land (meaning the Egyptian domain: Syria) and *Nhrn*.

"A King is he, who is to be glorified on account of his two arms in battle,¹⁶ who crossed the great *phr*¹⁷ in pursuit of him (i. e. the king of *Nhrn*), who attacked him (i. e. Pharaoh), at the head of his armies (i. e. Pharaoh's armies), in order to search after *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) miserable fallen one (l. 13) [of]

¹² *wn.sn n dnf* (?). The word *dnf* or *dn.f* (*f* as possessive pronoun) is unknown. The unlikely combination *ndnf* or *ndn.f* is also unknown.

¹³ It seems unlikely that *sw* refers to *w.w.sn*, as this word would have required a plural pronoun (and has it in the verb *wn.sn*!). The only noun, then, to which this pronoun (*sw*) can be referred, is *t3 pf* in l. 9 above.

¹⁴ The word *dkw* is unknown (it does not figure in the *Wörterbuch*). I would suggest a withered, grassy plain, dry and lifeless most of the year, but producing green grass after the rainy season, like the Hebrew עֲרֵבָה; cf. Is. 33⁹; 40⁸; and many others, in which the contrast between the well watered plains cultivable all the year round and the עֲרֵבָה is very plainly illustrated.

¹⁵ Though elsewhere the word *wrr.yt* always means chariot, it must be translated here cart, as, in this case, it represents a vehicle used for the transport of heavy goods drawn by oxen.

¹⁶ Meaning: on account of the mighty deeds, which he executed with his own hands; probably referring to the large number of foes whom he slew, or to his unerring aim in shooting or throwing spears, or the like.

¹⁷ The verb *phr* means to turn back, to turn round. This form here is a participle (pres. imperf.) meaning "He who is turning back" and denotes the Euphrates, the great river, which flows backwards, i. e. southwards, as against the river—the Nile—which flows northwards. See also note 20 below.

Mitanni.¹⁸ Lo, he fled before His Majesty to another land, a distant place, for fear (of His Majesty).¹⁹

"Then My Majesty set up a stele on *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) mountain of *Nhrn*, which (i. e. the stele) was carved in the rock on the right side of the great *phr*.²⁰

"I have no opponent in the Southern Lands; (l. 14) the Northern Lands come bowing to my power. Rē it is who ordained it for me. I have bound all that His Eye (i. e. the horizon) encompasses. He has given me the Earth in its length and in its width.²¹ I have tied into a sheaf the Nine Bows,²² the Islands that are in the

¹⁸ REISNER reconstructs: [*m*] *h3s.wt Mtn*, in the (foreign) lands of Mitanni. This reconstruction seems hardly likely from the photograph of the stele. Perhaps it is permissible to suggest *n n3 (n?)*, of the . . . There is also another difficulty in the way of accepting REISNER's reconstruction; the particle *m* would imply that the king of *Nhrn* fled to a foreign country (Mitanni), whereas from l. 12 we know that Mitanni and *Nhrn* are identical. ¹⁹ See note 8 above.

²⁰ See note 17 above. The question is, on which bank of the Euphrates was the stele carved? The context does not mean on the western side as REISNER translates, for this would be expressed by *r* or *hr ymn.ti*. *Gs ymn.ty* means the right side (or bank), which, if taken literally, would come to the same thing, as the right bank of the Euphrates is the western bank. However, seeing that the Euphrates was a *phr* river, would not the banks be interchangeable, too? i. e. seeing that the Egyptian orientation on the Nile was facing upstream, would not they face the same way up the Euphrates, in which case the right hand bank would be the eastern bank? From the Annals (see *Urk.* IV, p. 697) we know that Thothmes's stele was erected on the eastern bank, and here, too, the erection of the stele is described immediately after the account of the crossing of the Euphrates (ll. 12–13). It might be noted, by the way, that SETHE's reconstruction of the text of the Annals (*Urk.* IV, p. 697, l. 4) . . . [*r y*] *bt.y mw pn* . . . is probably correct, but his reason for such a reconstruction (with the omission of *gs*, *ibid.*, note b) is not quite adequate, as our text here states quite simply *hr gs ymn.ty phr wr*, without the genitive exponent before the *phr*. BREASTED reconstructs this part of the Annals differently (see *Ancient Records of Egypt* II, p. 202, § 478; also *History of Egypt*,¹ p. 303 & *CAH* II, p. 77) and claims that Thothmes III erected two stelae, one east of the Euphrates, and another west of it, near the stele of Thothmes I. But there is no evidence whatsoever for such a reconstruction. The present passage cannot be quoted as strengthening evidence, for is it likely at all that Thothmes having erected two stelae—one east and one west of the Euphrates—would proceed to mention the western one, passing over the eastern one in silence?

²¹ Cf. the Hebrew expression יִצְחָקָה וְיִרְחָבָה (Gen. 13¹⁷ and elsewhere).

²² The traditional enemies of Egypt, which in remote pre-history must have represented nine real tribes who used archery as their main weapon.

midst of the Great Green (i. e. the sea, here the Mediterranean),²³ the Northern Isles (i. e. Aegean Archipelago), the rebellious (foreign) lands.²⁴

"I drew nigh (l. 15) unto Egypt, travelling southwards,²⁵ after I had put to the sword the great *Nhrn*.²⁶ My fear²⁷ was in the mouths of the Bedawīn, who closed their strongholds on account of it, without coming forth because of their fear of the Bull.²⁸

"A king is he, mighty of arm, the excellent fortress of his armies,"²⁹

²³ Cf. the Hebrew אֲרֻמֵּי הַיָּם.

²⁴ Should this passage: I have no opponent . . . etc. be taken as a quotation from the inscription on the stele erected east of the Euphrates? If so, one misses the usual introductory *r dd*.

²⁵ On the return journey to Egypt.

²⁶ Read: *rdy.n.y hps [n] Nhrn ʿz.t*. It is also possible to put a full stop after *Nhrn*, and read the word *ʿz.t* with the following word *hry.t*. The translation would then be: "I put to the sword *Nhrn*. Great was my fear . . ." On the whole this alternative seems preferable.

²⁷ The following passage does not seem to be concerned with the deeds of the king of *Nhrn* as REISNER's translation implies. He translates: "... *Nhrn*, whose terror was great in the mouth of the Bedawīn . . ." It seems more likely that on his return journey Thothmes chastised the Bedawīn of the Sinai peninsula, who may have been harrasing Egyptian convoys during the campaign. One would, therefore, like to read *hry.t[y]*, my fear, i. e. the fear of Thothmes. It is possibly that the craftsman, who chiselled out the hieroglyphic inscription on the stele, misread his hieratic text, and instead of chiselling the sign of the man (A. H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 435, sign A-1), reading *y*, has engraved the sign of the three plural strokes (*op. cit.*, p. 519, sign Z-2). The two could be easily confused in cursive hieratic (G. MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie II*, signs 33b and 561, 1st. col.).

²⁸ On REISNER's interpretation "the Bull" would signify the king of *Nhrn*. It seems hardly likely that Thothmes, who always speaks of his antagonist in the most contemptuous terms as *hrw pf hsy*, would give him here, describing events on the very frontier of Egypt, this grand title. It is much more likely that the reference is to Thothmes himself, part of whose titulary was *k3 nht h^c m w3s.t* (the strong Bull appearing, or rising, in Thebes). This *epitheton* of *k3 nht* became a fixed part of the titulary of all pharaohs since Thothmes I (with the sole exception of *H3tšps.wt*, who was a woman), while the word *k3* (Bull) itself occurs already in the titulary of Amenophis I. This is another argument against REISNER's interpretation of the passage.

²⁹ The king watches so much over the safety and welfare of his troops, that he is likened to a fortress, within the walls of which they can find refuge. The expression is one of the stock phrases; cf. *Hymns to Sesostris III*, *Hymn I*, l. 19 (I do not have here the original edition of these papyri, so the quotation is given from ERMAN-BLACKMAN, *The Literature of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 135, l. 8 from above). Cf. also Jer. 1^{18/19}.

the iron wall (l. 16) [of his people?]. He attacks every land with his sword, without there being millions of men behind him,³⁰ throwing to attain his aim every time he stretches forth his hand,³¹ his arrows³² do not miss; mighty of arm, whose like does not exist; *Mntw*, valiant on the battle field.

"Now, another occasion of victory, which Rē ordained for me. He repeated for me a great deed of valour (l. 17) at the lake of *Niyy*.³³

³⁰ REISNER: "protecting him." The literal meaning of this Egyptian preposition (*h3.f*) is behind him, i. e. following him. I should like to suggest that the word is to be read *h3.f* and not *h3 yb.f* as REISNER reads. What REISNER took for *y b* seems to be the *tp* sign (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 442, sign D-1) followed by the single stroke. This sign is a very common determinative of the preposition *h3*—behind (for the form of this *tp* sign in the G. B. stele cf. ll. 19 & 20).

In both renderings the meaning comes to the same: Pharaoh attacks his foes all alone, single handed. It is possible that a subtle hint is implied: with this prowess should be contrasted the cowardly behaviour of his opponents, who put all their trust in numbers (cf., e. g., l. 19 of the inscription).

³¹ Literally: "he who throws in order to attain." REISNER translates: "a sure marksman every time he shoots," but the expression for shooting arrows is *sty m mdd* and not *wdy r mdd* as here. It seems that the verb *wdy*, to throw, would imply a reference to a javelin, or a spear, or a lance or the like; consequently, the following phrase is a parallel thought, as translated here, and not a relative clause ("whose arrows do not miss"), as in REISNER's translation.

³² The lack of *f* in the hieroglyphic transcription in *ÄZ* 69-1, p. 30 is probably due to a misprint, as the *f* is very plain on pl. IV.

³³ REISNER reads: "*whm.n.f n.y qn.t ʿ3.t [m] myts (?) n nyy* = He repeated for me a great deed of valour [at] the watering-place (?) of Niy." This reading necessitates: a) the interpolation of a first *m* supposedly missed out by the engraver on account of the following *m*, b) the acceptance of a new word *myts*, of a totally unknown etymology and a very strange spelling. However, on a close examination of the photographic reproduction on pl. IV, it becomes quite clear that the sign transcribed by REISNER as *ts* (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 493, sign S-24), is not that, but the channel sign *mr* (*op. cit.*, p. 479, sign N-36), which is not to be read here, being a mere determinative in this case. The reading is, therefore, "*whm.n.f n.y qn.t ʿ3.t m ym n nyy* = he repeated for me . . . at the lake of Niya." This reading involves no interpolation of supposedly missing particles, and turns the totally unknown word *myts* into the well known *ym*, a word borrowed by the N. E. from the Canaanite-Hebrew. That *ym* need not necessarily mean sea, but may also designate an inland lake, is proved not only by the Hebrew use of the word (ים-המלח, ים-בְּנֵי-נֶחֱלָה, etc.), but also by Egyptian use, for the name *Fayyūm* is nothing but the Bohairic pronunciation of the N. E. *p3 ym* = the (province) of the lake. For various

He caused me to meet³⁴ troops of elephants; My Majesty fought them, namely a herd of 120 elephants. Never had the like been done by (any) king since (the time of the) Gods,³⁵ who received the White Crown. I have narrated these (things) without boasting on account of them, without there being (l. 18) a lie in (my recital). I have achieved this according to that which ordained for me my father Amon-Rē, Lord of Karnak, Who leads My Majesty on the good road by means of His excellent plans. He has united for me (i. e. under my sway) the Black Land (i. e. Egypt) and the Red Land (i. e. the foreign provinces). All that ʾYtn (i. e. the sun) encompasses is in my grasp.

"Now I shall repeat to you, hear ye, O people! (l. 19) He ordained spellings of the word *ym*, with determinatives similar to those appearing in this inscription, see *Wörterbuch I*, p. 78 (right hand column).

According to the *Wörterbuch I*, p. *16 (containing references to p. 78, 11) the earliest so far known appearance of the word *ym* is in *Amarna VI*, pl. 25, l. 18. In this example the Prayer of Ay the spelling is exactly identical with the spelling of the word here (signs M-17—twice, N-35—three ripples, N-36, N-21, and Z-1 of GARDINER's list). It is true that in the Prayer of Ay the word is preceded by the definite article *p3*, which does not figure here. This example of the G. B. stele antedates the Prayer of Ay by at least eighty years. The fact, however, need not cause any surprise. Words borrowed from the Canaanite abound in Thothmes's inscriptions (cf., e. g., *3br*, אֲבִיר, *Urk. IV*, p. 663 and my note in *הַשְׁוִינִי III*, pp. 29-30; *ysp.t*, אֲשַׁפָּה, M. BURCHARDT, *Die altkanaanäischen Fremdwörter und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen II*, No. 137, p. 8; *mrkb.t*, מִרְכָּבָה, *ibid.*, No. 482, p. 26; *rhd.t*, רִהַט, *Urk. IV*, p. 666 and my note in *ibid.*, pp. 33-34; *dd.t*, דִּיד, *Urk. IV*, p. 631 & 666 and my note *ibid.*, pp. 31-33; and many others), while the forthcoming advent of the N. E. is felt already in various syntactical changes in the inscriptions of the period.

The description of the site, where the elephant-hunt took place, given in the biography of Amonemhab (*Urk. IV*, p. 894, l. 2), does not argue against the interpretation proposed above, as *mw* may mean any watersheet. For a detailed discussion of the event see below, pp. 218 foll.

³⁴ *yr.r.y*, I have made for, reached; here it means "he caused me to reach the haunts of the elephants." This, of course, is a well known device of all hunters to lie in ambush at the watering place of game.

³⁵ It seems probable that the sign of the plural has been omitted after the word *ntr*. The emended text should read: "*ḏr ntr.w p3.yw šsp ḥd.t*" = since (the time of) the Gods, who received the White Crown." The reference would be to the time when the Gods ruled in Egypt, which they did, according to Egyptian mythology, before the beginning of the human dynasties. This emendation would obviate the necessity of supposing an unwritten repetition of the phrase "(by any of),"—see *ÄZ 69-1*, p. 31, l. 2 from the top.

for me³⁶—in my first campaign—the land of *Rinw* (i. e. Palestine and SE. Syria), (the people of which) came to contend with my Majesty with millions of men, hundreds of thousands of notables of every (foreign) land standing on their “pairs” (i. e. chariots drawn by pairs of horses) to the number of 330 chieftains (i. e. the petty kinglets of the small city-states of Palestine and Syria), every one of them at the head of his army.³⁷

“Lo, they were in the valley of *Qyn*,³⁸ encamped (l. 20) indeed in a trap (?).³⁹ An occasion of success happened to me with them.⁴⁰ My Majesty attacked them, and they fled immediately falling in heaps of slain.

They took refuge in (lit. entered) Megiddo. My Majesty besieged them⁴¹ for a period of nearly⁴² seven months, without

³⁶ *wḏ.n.f n.y*, also he bequeathed to me. Cf. the double meaning of the Hebrew *וְצִוָּנִי*: he ordered me, commanded me, hence commanded (in his will, that it be given) to me, bequeathed to me.

³⁷ Every petty king, who joined the confederacy headed by the king of Qedeš on the Orontes, brought his contingent of soldiers. Many were no doubt vassal chieftains, whose domains formed parts of larger states (see my article in *JAOS* IV, pp. 1–13) and who were forced, *volens-nolens*, to join the fight.

³⁸ The brook *Qyn* = *Wādī Lejjūn* to-day, a tributary of the Kishon, rises in the hills south of Megiddo, but is mainly fed by the springs round the mound of Megiddo. This name is undoubtedly connected with *תְּקִינִי*. Whether the brook took its name from the Qeynite clan settled in the neighbourhood, or *vice versa*, still remains to be ascertained.

³⁹ The word itself (*gw3.y*) is not known, but it must be from the root *gw3*, to draw in the strings of a fishing net, hence ‘net, trap.’

⁴⁰ REISNER: “(and) I had a great success among them.” However this translation involves the announcement of the result of the battle before the beginning of the description thereof (cf. the following sentence *hd.n š.t ḥm.y . . .*). It seems to me that the sentence in question belongs not to the following part of the narrative describing the result of the battle, but to the preceding part; it emphasizes the logical result of the unfavourable camping ground chosen by the enemy: they made a bad choice, they were in a trap, consequently this was Thothmes’s luck, his occasion of success. See the detailed discussion below, pp. 209 ff.

⁴¹ *ḏḏḥ.n š.t ḥm.y*, My Majesty closed them in, shut them off. Cf. Sanḥerib’s very descriptive phrase in speaking of the siege of Jerusalem: “himself (i. e. Hezekiah) like a caged bird I shut up in Jerusalem, his royal city” (D. D. LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, p. 120).

⁴² Though the word *ḥn.ty*, “period, time,” is very frequently determined with the sign *w3* (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 478, sign N-31); but seeing the particle *r* following here, which is an unusual turn of phrase with the following designation of the period, it seems likely that the determinative *w3* is to be

their issuing (l. 21) forth to humble⁴³ themselves before My Majesty, saying: 'Give us Thy breath, O our Lord, never again will the inhabitants of the (foreign) land of *Rtnw* return to rebellion!'⁴⁴

"Then (i. e. at the end of this period), *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) fallen one,⁴⁵ together with the chieftains who were with him, sent out to My Majesty all their (l. 22) children⁴⁶ bearing numerous gifts of gold and silver, all their horses which were with them,⁴⁷ their large chariots of gold and silver⁴⁸ and those

read here: *hn.ty w3 r 3bd.w 7* = a period of time nearly seven months long. For the expression *m3 r* cf. *Urk. IV*, pp. 649, l. 16 and 650, l. 2.

⁴³ *s.nmh*, does mean to beseech, as REISNER translates; however, the original meaning of the root is connected with humility, humbleness. Thus, *nmh*, means a humble man; thence the causative, to make oneself humble; consequently, to petition, to beseech.

⁴⁴ REISNER's translation of the passage is perfectly correct, but his interpretation inserted in brackets, "i. e. until they came forth," seems to me beside the point. What the text means is exactly what it says: Thothmes besieged the city for seven months, *without* their coming out to surrender, i. e. seven months passed and during all this time they did not come to ask for mercy; now, at the end of this period of time they did come, and the coming is described in the following passage beginning with *h'n n rdy.n hrw pf* etc. The surrender at the end of this time may have been caused by the shortage of food (hardly of water, as they had the hidden springs and the rainy season was nigh). However, it may have also been due to another cause: the advent of the rainy season made it clear that the ally of Megiddo, the King of Qedeš, could not send a relief-force till the following spring, which meant the prolongation of the siege 5-6 more months. For that length of time the city apparently did not possess enough food, seeing that Thothmes harvested their fields in order to replenish his own supplies (*Urk. IV*, p. 667).

⁴⁵ The implication is that this refers to the king of Qedeš on the Orontes, since he is everywhere referred to as the chief of the confederacy. However, we know from other sources that he escaped from the besieged city before its surrender, together with several of his allies. This, therefore, must really be referred to the king of Megiddo. See also below, p. 228.

⁴⁶ The word is probably to be reconstructed *ms-[s]-s-w*-determinative of man and woman plus the plural strokes-*s-n*. Seeing the determinative one should assume that the word refers to "subjects" rather than to actual princes. The subjects of a king would be considered his *children*, just as the king is considered the *father* of his people and city.

⁴⁷ REISNER: "all their horses and that which belonged to them"; this possessive relation, however, would be expressed not by the particle *hn'*, but by the phrase *yhw.t yry(t?)*. On the suggestion put forward here the preposition *hn'* refers back to the chieftains; either it is a clipped form instead of *hn'.sn* (and so it must be

that were painted, all their leather-cuirasses,⁴⁹ their bows, (l. 23) their arrows all, their arms of wood (i. e. spear-shafts, javelins, throw-sticks etc.), with which they came from afar to do battle against My Majesty. Lo, they (i. e. the kinglets and their courtiers, who sent the people or the princes: see note 46) were standing on their walls (i. e. the city-walls of Megiddo) doing obeisance (or: giving praise?) to My Majesty, seeking that the breath of life be given unto them.⁵⁰

"(l. 24) Then My Majesty caused them to swear an oath,⁵¹ saying: 'We shall not return to evil (deeds) against (or: under the rule of?) *Mn-hpr-r*, may He live for ever, our Lord, as long as we live, for we have beheld His clemency,⁵² when He gave us breath (of life) of His free will.⁵³ It is his father (l. 25) who did this,

considered even on REISNER's interpretation, as the resumptive pronoun is lacking in any case), or it is an early use of the N. E. form *hn^c.w*, in which *w* stands for *sn*.

⁴⁸ Literally: gold upon silver. Cf. the similar Hebrew use of *זָהָב*, with, plus, e. g. Ezek. 7²⁶.

⁴⁹ REISNER: "all their battle-armour." The determinative, however, makes it quite clear that leather-cuirasses are intended.

⁵⁰ The king's pardon restores them to the life forfeited as conquered enemies. Hence, by asking for the king's mercy, they are seeking that the breath of life be restored to them.

⁵¹ According to the *Wörterbuch* s.v. *š.d.f3* this expression occurs only in N. E., while s. v. *try* it is further limited to the dynasties 19/20. Consequently, this stele contains the earliest occurrence of this phrase. For a parallel case see also note 33 above. It becomes more and more obvious that N. E. (both syntax and vocabulary) began even its official career long before it became the standard official language towards the *el-Amarna* period.

As to the expression itself, the combination with the verb *š.d.f3* (equip, supply with food or with food offerings) suggests some sort of an oath taken over a sacrifice, cf. the narrative in Gen. 15⁹⁻²¹ (בְּרִית בֵּין הַבְּתָרִים) and *ibid.*, 21¹⁸⁻³⁰. At the same time the presence of the *byn* bird (the evil bird) as a determinative suggests that the oath contained also evil curses invoked on the head of that party should attempt to break the pact sealed by the oath.

⁵² It seems preferable here to translate thus the word *b3.w*, which elsewhere means glory, might. For the quality reflected in the pardon granted to the city is clemency, for bearance rather than glory or might. The latter qualities would not have been impeached even had Thothmes chosen to sack Megiddo after its surrender.

⁵³ . . . *m3.n.n b3.w.f rdy.n.f n.n t3.w r mrr.f* is rendered by REISNER ". . . we have seen his glory. Let him give us breath as he wishes." It is rather doubtful whether *šdm.n.f* may be used to express a wish (optative, except in

(namely) Amon-Rē, Lord of Karnak, not indeed the arm⁵⁴ of Mani

"Then My Majesty caused that there be given to them the road to their cities (i. e. allowed them to depart to their city-states), and they all went away (riding) on donkeys,⁵⁵ for I seized their chariot-horses and carried away the citizens serving them (i. e. the troops and servitors attached to the chariotry) to Egypt, and their chattels likewise. . . ."

Here ends that part of the inscription which directly concerns the historian of Palestine and Syria, excluding ll. 27-32 which enumerate the foreign tribute and which are of little new interest.

This part of the inscription reveals some new facts, which either were not included in the first edition of the annals (engraved on the walls of Thothmes's pavilion at Karnak)⁵⁶ or were included in the lacunae now existing in the text.

The new facts are: 1. The number of the confederates, 330 (l. 19; see, however, below, pp. 226 foll.); 2. The fact that the Egyptian victory at Megiddo was largely due to faulty strategy on the part of the confederate Palestino-Syrian princes in the choice of their camping ground (l. 20; see also below, pp. 209 foll.); 3. The length of the siege of Megiddo, namely seven months (l. 20); 4. The circumstances and conditions of the surrender (ll. 21-23); 5. The reference to the departure of the pardoned chiefs, which contains a naive and possibly unintentional touch of humour in describing the crestfallen return of the petty kinglets to their respective cities riding on donkeys like simple commoners (l. 25).

The new evidence permits a reconsideration of the circumstances attending the battle of Megiddo.⁵⁷

the case of A. H. GARDINER, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 414,3, where the wish is unfulfilled). At any rate it is much more logical and grammatical to see here in the *rdy.n.f* etc. a subordinate temporal clause and translate it accordingly.

⁵⁴ The remains of the sign in the photographic reproduction on pl. IV seem to suggest *rmn* (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 447, sign D-41) rather than *r* (*ibid.*, p. 446, sign D-36).

⁵⁵ Cf. this inscription, l. 22 above, in which it is stated that the chieftains sent to Thothmes *all* the horses that they had with them.

⁵⁶ *Urk.* VI, pp. 647 foll.

⁵⁷ For a full examination of the evidence known heretofore and a detailed discussion of the battle of Megiddo see H. H. NELSON, *The Battle of Megiddo*, Chicago.

We find Thothmes III at Yhm , wherever it may be, whether at *Hirbet Yemma*⁵⁸ or at *Tell-i-l-Asāwir*.⁵⁹

The king and his staff are at conference to choose the best road to Megiddo. Three different routes are mentioned: the one, "behold it is excellent for our Lord, it comes out at *Ta'anak*; the other, behold it is on the northern route of *Dfty*, we shall come out to the north of Megiddo."⁶⁰ The third route, which Thothmes himself prefers, is the narrow defile leading up through *Wādī 'Ārah* and debouching on the valley of Jezreel south of Megiddo at the entrance to *Wādī Lejjūn*.

There is no difference of opinion as to the first alternative route proposed by Thothmes's generals. This is a comparatively broad and straight road, which does not encounter any steep ascents or narrow defiles; it starts from *Baqa* (assuming that Yhm is at *Hirbet Yemma*) or *Wādī 'Ārah* (if Yhm is located at *Tell-i-l-Asāwir*) and, passing by *Kuffīn* and *Ferasīn*, leads out first to the plain of *Dōthān* and thence, either by a circuitous road (the modern main road to *Ein Gannīm-Jenīn* or a short pass through *Burqīn*) or by one of the side valleys between *Ya'abid* and *Kefreireh*, it reaches the valley of Jezreel at or near *Ta'anak* (*Tell Ta'anak*).⁶¹ The third route (via *Wādī 'Ārah* and $\text{rn} = \text{Tell 'Ārah}$)⁶² is also well known and generally accepted.

The question is, which was the second alternative route proposed by Thothmes' staff? It has been generally admitted that this route, too, is to be looked for in the mountains north of *Wādī 'Ārah*; so that ALT's suggestion,⁶³ that this road is probably the mountainous track leading from *Tell-i-l-Asāwir* northwards over the Carmel range and descending into the valley of Jezreel near *Tell Qaymūn*, found general acceptance. According to this view there should be somewhere along this track an unidentified mound, the site of *Dfty*, a probably forgotten ḥḥḥ on the Carmel range.

⁵⁸ DARESSY, *RT* XXI, p. 33, quoted from H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* I, p. 171, s.v. yhm .

⁵⁹ ALT in *PJB* X, p. 76. ⁶⁰ *Urk.* IV, p. 650, inscription ll. 33-35.

⁶¹ See details in ALT, *PJB* X, pp. 76-78. ⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 79. Even ALT has to confess that: "Schumacher erklärt freilich ihre Steigungsverhältnisse, wenigstens im nördlichen Teil, beim Abstieg nach *tell kēmūn* für nicht sehr günstig" (*ibid.*, p. 79).

This suggestion, however, bristles with difficulties. The first and most serious is topographical. The objection of the generals to Thothmes's choice of *Wādī ʿĀrah* is its extreme narrowness. Is it likely that they would suggest as an alternative a mountainous track still steeper and narrower than the road through *Wādī ʿĀrah*? Secondly, were a narrow pass through the mountains advocated, would not the generals, too, see the advantage of the shortest and quickest route? Thirdly, the place at which this route leads out into the valley—*Tell Qaymūn*—does not lie north of Megiddo, but NW. of it.⁶⁴ Fourthly, is it likely that an obscure *Dfty* would be mentioned identifying the road instead of the large city of *Tell Qaymūn* (the suggested site of *Yogne'am*, probably No. 113 in Thothmes's list of conquered city-states: *ʿnqnʿm* = *עֵין-קִנְעָם* = *יְקִנְעָם*?) Finally, there are the strategic considerations. The Egyptian army appearing at *Taʿanak* would cut off one of the main communication routes of the confederates with their base in the N. and NE. even if they failed to capture the town of *Taʿanak* itself immediately; whereas at *Tell Qaymūn* a long siege would leave the confederates at Megiddo free to communicate with whomsoever they pleased.

All these considerations compel one to look for another possible line as the second alternative route proposed by Thothmes's generals. On casting about one notices at the foothills of the Nazareth range, north of Megiddo (across the plain), the village of *Jebāta*, well known in Jewish post-biblical sources as *גִּבְתָּא* or *גִּבְתָּתָא*,⁶⁵ corresponding to

⁶⁴ It might be objected that the Egyptians did not make such exact differentiations in their orientation, and the general direction north would also embrace NW. This, however, is not the case: in describing the position of the Egyptian army on the day of the battle, the annalist states that its north wing was stationed NW. (*mḥ.ty ymn.ty*) of Megiddo (*Urk. IV*, p. 657, inscription l. 85); consequently, the Egyptians could, when they cared, indicate finer differentiations of orientation. Again, had north been intended for NW. and indicated the direction of *Tell-Qaymūn*, why was not *Taʿanak* described as lying south of Megiddo, since it lies on the direct continuation of the line *Tell-Qaymūn*, Megiddo?

⁶⁵ See *עֵרֶךְ הַשָּׁרָם II*, s. v. *גִּבְתָּא*, which must be in the vicinity of *Sippori*. In some places the spelling is *גִּבְתָּי*, which would account for the Egyptian version *Dfty*, though this spelling is usually identified with the Zāb river in Mesopotamia (*Ar. III*, s. v. *גִּבְתָּי*). For the rendering of a *ṭ* in n. pr. l. with an Egyptian *d*, cf. *gḏr*, *גִּדְר* and *gḏw*, *גִּדְו*. I prefer this identification of *גִּבְתָּא*

an early גִּבְתָּ. It is true that the philologic equation is rather strained. גִּבְתָּ should be represented in Egyptian transliteration by *kbt* or *qbt*, or, better still, *kpt*;⁶⁶ however, it is possible that some softening of the pronunciation made this *g* sound to Egyptian ears as *j* (ج) and consequently it was transcribed not as *k* (note the usual softening of *g* to *k*!) but as *d*, this softening further causing the reduction of the harder *p* (which was already softened from *b*) to *f*.⁶⁷ Near this village of *Jebāta* there are two small *tells*, the one, *Tell-i-Šadūd*, just outside the Jewish settlement of *Sārīd* (this *tell* is usually identified with biblical שָׂרִיד); the other, which appears neither on the maps of the Survey of Western Palestine⁶⁸ nor on the German sheets prepared during the War, is still better situated relative to the position north of Megiddo. It is a small mound just outside Nahalāl to the SE. Either of the two could easily be an ancient גִּבְתָּ.⁶⁹

to that mentioned in S. KLEIN, *Beiträge zur Geographie und Geschichte Galiläas*, p. 28, note 5, though it is always possible that this גִּבְתָּ represents some Gubtā that is not mentioned in the literary sources. That there were several villages of that name is well known.

⁶⁶ Examples of such equations are numerous. The classical example now is *kpn*, כִּנְּ, Byblos. Others are Nos. 41 & 114 of Thothmes's list (*Urk.* IV, pp. 781–786), which no doubt contain the element גִּבְתָּ or Nos. 4, 44, 63, 70 and 93 of the same list, which probably contain the element גִּבְתָּ; cf. also Nos. 2 (*mkty*, מִכְתִּי), 71 (*Mkt*, מִכְתִּי), 80 (*Kr[w]t[w]*, כִּרְתָּ), 98 (*tpwn*, תְּפִינִי), 103 (*qpwtz*, קִפְּטִי), 104 (*qdr*, קִדְרִי).

⁶⁷ See note 65 above. It seems that the combination *dp* was unknown in Egyptian. The possibilities were confined to *db* or *df*. The four words given in the *Wörterbuch V*, which show the combination *dp* (*dpr*, דִּפְרִי; *dpr.t*, *dph*, *dpq*, of which *dph* is certainly foreign and a corruption of the Canaanite-Hebrew דִּפְחִי elsewhere appearing as *tpḥ* or *dph*), are all N.F. and look like loan-words from foreign languages.

⁶⁸ Possibly this is the spot marked near 'Aini-l-Beyda as being 414' above sea level. If so, the *tell* is nameless. I failed to find any reference to it in *The Survey of Western Palestine*. For the historical connections of *Jebāta* see *ibid.* I, p. 274, s. v. *Jebāta*. This village is certainly not the site of the city mentioned in Thothmes's list under No. 41 as the compilers of the *Survey* thought.

⁶⁹ The author passed by these two *tells* in a car late in the evening; consequently he could not examine them for surface pottery, but the *tells* bore no traces of superficial ruins, as most late *tells* do. Dr. MAISLER, in a private communication, tells me that after enquiries on the spot he ascertained that this *tell* is known locally as *Tell-Beyda*. Also a second mound in the vicinity *Tell-ʿAwarta* comes into consideration.

Which, therefore, is the route that the generals advocated for the Egyptian army in order to emerge into the vally at *Dfty*, which lies north of Megiddo? It seems that the only possible alternative is the coast road. Though very circuitous, it had the advantage of an easy and level passage. It skirted the Carmel range along the shore coming into the plain of Zebulun (or the plain of Acre), where modern Haifa is situated;⁷⁰ thence, crossing the shallow estuary of the Kishon, it led due east across the plain to where *Wādī-l-Melek* emerges from the hills, and then by a gentle slope up *Wādī-l-Melek* and turning sharply southward down into the NW bay of the valley of Jezreel, through *Ummī-l-Amad* and *Jeydeh* to the neighbourhood of *Jebāta*, where an abundance of springs made the place an ideal camping ground for a comparatively large army.⁷¹

The strategic advantage of this road is obvious. With the exception of *Dōr* on the sea-coast, which may have already been in Egyptian hands,⁷² it avoids all the principal fortresses of the enemy (*Harbaj*, *el-Hārītīyeh*, *Tell Qaymūn*, etc.) and leads out to the rear of the enemy by easy and practically level stages. The two crossings of the Kishon, which it involves, presented no difficulties. The brook is extremely shallow near its estuary (the first crossing) owing to sand dunes, at least some of which must have existed at the time; while the re-crossing involved by the march from Gebat to Megiddo would at that time of the year be very easy, since in March-April the Kishon here is almost dry.

It should nevertheless be understood that this identification is not offered as the final solution but is a suggestion put forward as a possible alternative to the theories proposed so far.⁷³

⁷⁰ The site of which was not inhabited at the time.

⁷¹ See *Survey of Western Palestine* I, p. 262 foll. on the easy slopes of this district. See also note 68 above. It should also be mentioned here that *Dfty* appears in Thothmes's list as No. 116 in association with Nos. 112–117, all of which cities are situated in the valley of Jezreel, and its immediate neighbours Nos. 113 and 114 are NW. of the valley, while the site of No. 115 (cf. Jud. 7¹⁵) is unknown. See also ALR in *PJB* X, p. 75, note 2.

⁷² It does not figure in Thothmes's list of captured cities. But neither do Gaza or Šaruhen, which we know to have been Egyptian garrison-towns since at least the beginning of the XVIIIth dynasty.

⁷³ This suggestion has already been put forward by the author briefly in his Hebrew translation of the first part of the Annals of Karnak, see *לְכָזֶן הַחֲבֵרָה הַשְּׂמֵרִית לְחֲקִירָתָהּ* (*Journal of the JPES*) III, pp. 145 foll.

To return to the council of war held at *Yhm*. Captured Canaanite spies are brought in to strengthen the plea of the Egyptian generals. They, too, report that the road is narrow and well defended by the confederates. In view of the fact that the Egyptians found no opposition at all in the pass,⁷⁴ it seems likely that these spies were not accidental prisoners captured by the Egyptian vanguard. It seems probable that they were sent on purpose by the king of Qedeš and his allies to give out false news to the Egyptians in order to prevent their choosing the direct road by *Wādī Ārah*. The confederates relied so much on the efficacy of this stratagem, that not only did they not trouble to guard the narrow pass, where a small force would have been sufficient to prevent the Egyptians from crossing the Carmel range, but they planted their camp at the Jezreel end of this road, where they were taken in the rear by the Egyptians, who arrived unexpectedly.

We may come now to examine into the situation of the Palestino-Syrian confederates. The Annals give a short note on their positions: . . . [*p3.sn*] *dbw rśy m tñk* [*yw p3.sn*] *dbw mḥ.ty m qḥ r[śy n t3 yn.t qyn]* . . . "[their] south wing was in *Taʿanak*, [while their] north wing was in the southern bend [of the valley of *Qyn*]." ⁷⁵ The G. B. stele supplements this notice with a further explanation: (l. 19) . . . *yś.t ś.t m yn.t qyn3 ḥrw r.ś m gw3.y* . . . "Now, they were in the valley of *Qyn*, encamped indeed in a trap (?) . . ." ⁷⁶

We see now that the Egyptians were expected either at *Taʿanak*, where the southern wing of the confederate army was encamped, or else near Megiddo, where the northern wing was in camp. The choice of the camping ground in the southern bend of the valley of *Qyn* shows that the possibility of the Egyptian arrival through the *Wādī Ārah* pass was not considered by the confederates. If the Egyptian attack was expected either on the SE. (on the road from *Taʿanak*) or in the north (on the road from Gebat), the choice of the camp for the confederate chariotry was a very happy one. The topography of the place makes it impossible for anybody advancing on Megiddo from any direction (except the *Wādī Ārah* road) to

⁷⁴ *Urk.* IV, p. 653, inscription l. 62.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 653, inscription ll. 62–64, which is another indication that the Egyptians were not expected to choose the mountainous track leading out to *Tell Qaymūn*.

⁷⁶ See notes 39 and 40 above.

see the little valley at the emergence of *Wādī Lejjūn* (the brook of *Qyn*) into the plain of Jezreel (or even to suspect its existence), which little valley is completely concealed by the hill of Megiddo. At the same time this valley possesses two exits to the main plain, one along the course of *Wādī Lejjūn* to the east, and the other a side valley skirting the mound of Megiddo on the SW., W. and NW. An army unaware of the presence of a large force to the south of the town, and advancing on Megiddo towards its main gate on the northern slope of the hill, could be easily surprised by flank and rear attacks launched by two columns of chariotry issuing from the two above mentioned exits. This was no doubt the original plan of the Palestino-Syrian confederates.

In this light Thothmes's insistence on choosing the short route through *Wādī Ārah* shows not merely a spirit of military bravado, but excellent generalship. He not only saved his army from flank attacks, but completely turned the tables by taking his adversaries by surprise in the rear.⁷⁷

It is difficult to understand why the Palestino-Syrian confederates did not trouble to change their plans in view of the new situation. The council of war at *Yḥm* took place on the 16th of the first month of the summer season in the 23rd year of Thothmes's reign.⁷⁸ The march across the pass began on the 19th of the same month,⁷⁹ while the battle of Megiddo took place on the 21st of the month.⁸⁰ Even allowing that Thothmes did not cross the pass in one day, and, spending the night of the 19th/20th somewhere on the road (at *ʿrn?* about midway between *Telli-l-Asāwir* and the highest point of the pass?), arrived near Megiddo on the 20th, the confederates still had time to withdraw, or to change their plans, for the Egyptian accounts state that Thothmes's guides emerged into the valley at midday,⁸¹ while his camp on the bank of the brook was pitched about an hour later.⁸²

⁷⁷ See the G. B. stele, l. 20.

⁷⁸ *Urk.* IV, p. 649. This council took place about the 27th of April 1479 B.C. The dates given below are taken from ALT's article in *PJB* X, pp. 53 foll. (see especially p. 60, note 4). ⁷⁹ *Urk.* IV, p. 652: about the 30th of April 1479.

⁸⁰ *Urk.* IV, p. 657. Ca. the 2nd of May 1479.

⁸¹ *Urk.* IV, p. 655. Ca. the 1st of May 1479.

⁸² *Ibid.*: *yw wnw.t 7 m pḥr m rʿ*, which reckoning from sunrise (at that time of the year) would be about midday to 1 p.m.

Even allowing for the possible indolence of an oriental army, the fact that the confederates did nothing during a long afternoon and a night seems to suggest that they thought the sudden appearance of the Egyptian forces a sort of a blind intended to divert their attention from the movements of the main body of the Egyptian army somewhere else. They were cruelly undeceived next morning when the Egyptians launched their attack on the probably unprepared encampment of the Palestino-Syrian chariotry.⁸⁴ The forces of the confederates were in a very unfavourable position: they were cramped for space, their ground was unfavourable for deploying their chariotry and was further obstructed by the rich and vast encampment. The rout was complete.

An unfavourable light is shed on the discipline of the Egyptian army by the fact that the looting of the rich camp diverted the soldiers from the pursuit of the enemy, thus necessitating a long siege. In spite of the detailed description of the wooden circumvallation round Megiddo, the siege could not have been as watchful and complete as the Annals represent it, for the moving spirit of the confederacy—the king of Qedeš and several of his allies—escaped before the surrender of the town. No doubt the watch was chiefly concentrated on the main gate of the town on the north, while the steep southern slope was less carefully watched.⁸⁵ It is also possible that the escaping rulers took advantage of the small passage in the SW. sector of the city wall, which (though evidence as to its precise date is still lacking) the excavators⁸⁶ believe to have been during the LB period a means of access from the city to the underground spring outside it, at the foot of the hill; the existence of this passage may not have been known to the Egyptians.

Thus the siege continued for seven weary months of the Palestinian summer and autumn. It was not till November of the

⁸⁴ This sudden move may have been concealed by morning mists, as suggested by FISHER (*OIC* No. 4, p. 8), but it is impossible that the confederates knew nothing of the arrival of the Egyptians, since these reached the banks of *Wādi Lejjūn* the previous noon, at a time of day when no mists occur in Palestine during April–May.

⁸⁵ As against ALT's view, see *PJB* X, p. 95.

⁸⁶ Communication from Mr. P. L. O. GUY, to whose courtesy I owe this paragraph.

same year that Megiddo sued for peace and was granted mercy on condition of renouncing all ideas of opposition to Egyptian rule in the future. Thothmes also received the submission of various kinglets in southern Galilee⁸⁷ and as the time of the year was far too advanced for pursuing his military campaign⁸⁸ he returned to Egypt laden with tribute.

This new evidence conflicts with some of the older theories about events in the 23rd regnal year of Thothmes. The continuation of the Annals, in which are described the Feasts of Victory and the gifts dedicated to Amon-Rē on those occasions, rather suggests that the king was present at Thebes on the 14th day of some month of the Inundation season of this same regnal year.⁸⁹ SETHE and BREASTED have both conclusively shown that this month could only be the second month.⁹⁰ It is now as conclusively proved that the partly defaced numeral of the month is to be reconstructed not as 2, but as 4;⁹¹ for the 14th of Paophi falls approximately on the 11th of October; also the 14th of Hathyr, falling on the 10th of November, would clash with the statement that Megiddo was besieged for nearly seven months.⁹² The date, then, if Thothmes was to be present at the feast, is to be reconstructed as "month 4

⁸⁷ The exact location of the three cities mentioned in this connection (*ynwꜥm*, *ynwꜥs* and *ḥrnrꜥ*; *Urk.* IV, p. 665) is unknown. But the first of these towns is closely associated with *Beth-Še'an* in the stele of Seti I (see *MJ* 1929, p. 90, l. 21). Their submission immediately after the fall of Megiddo suggests that they were within easy reach of the latter place. The lateness of the season makes it almost impossible for Thothmes to have proceeded to the Lebanon as BREASTED supposes (*ÄZ* 37, pp. 124 foll.; *AR* II, p. 177; *A History of Egypt*,¹ p. 293; *CAH* II, p. 72).

⁸⁸ The peasant levies of Thothmes, too, had to return as quickly as possible to Egypt, if the year's crops were to be cultivated.

⁸⁹ *Urk.* IV, p. 742, inscription l. 5.

⁹⁰ BREASTED in *ÄZ* 37, p. 126 (he admits, however, that it could be the 3rd month!); SETHE in *Urk.* IV, p. 742, note b.

⁹¹ It is, of course, possible that all these feasts really took place in the 24th year of Thothmes's reign. No campaign is recorded in that year, which can be easily explained by Thothmes's late return the winter before. If so, the reconstruction proposed by SETHE and BREASTED is feasible.

⁹² Apart from the fact that the position of the remaining stroke of the numeral makes it almost impossible for the date to be reconstructed as 3, it can only be either 2 or 4 (see *Urk.* IV, p. 742, l. 1 on top).

of the Inundation season, day 14 (?),” which would bring it to about the 10th of December.⁹³

On the same ground it would have been absolutely impossible for Thothmes III to go any farther north after the capture of Megiddo. We have already seen that the three cities cited by BREASTED as the Tripolis of the Southern Lebanon⁹⁴ must be looked for somewhere on the outskirts of southern Galilee and undoubtedly the fortress built by Thothmes that year must have been planted within the same area. As it is expressly stated to have been built “amidst the chieftains of Lebanon,”⁹⁵ one can only conclude that in those times the name Lebanon was also applied to the southern outcrop of this range, across the *Liṭānī* (Leontes) in Galilee (both northern and southern).⁹⁶

Other new facts concern the Mitannian campaign. The Annals of Karnak state that Thothmes twice fought the king of *Nhrn*;⁹⁷ the first encounter took place in the 33rd year of Thothmes’s reign (ca. 1468 B.C.) in his eighth campaign, while the second clash occurred two years later in his tenth campaign (ca. 1466 B.C.).

The passage of the Annals of Karnak dealing with the first *Nhrn* campaign (Thothmes’s eighth campaign in Syria) reads as follows:⁹⁸ “(l. 19)... Year 33. Lo, His Majesty was in the (foreign) land of *Rṯmw* [having reached the district⁹⁹ of *Qdnz*¹⁰⁰ in his eighth

⁹³ BREASTED’s calculations in *AR* II, p. 177 and other places (see note 87 above) must be corrected accordingly.

⁹⁴ *A History of Egypt*,¹ p. 293.

⁹⁵ *Urk.* IV, p. 739.

⁹⁶ Unless the fortress was also built not in the 23rd but in the 24th year of Thothmes; see note 91 above. It might be of interest to state here that according to Dr. B. MAISLER (oral communication) Galilee formed one administrative district together with the southern Lebanon and the region of Damascus under the Egyptian rule.

⁹⁷ The name Mitanni does not occur in the Annals of Karnak. There Thothmes’s opponent in Northern Syria is always designated as the king of *Nhrn*. It is only in this G. B. stele that the equation *Nhrn*-Mitanni is expressly stated. See below, p. 218.

⁹⁸ *Urk.* IV, pp. 696–699.

⁹⁹ *w*, district, may be perhaps connected with the Semitic root *اوى* (for the possible clipping of the originally trilateral root to a uniliteral word see *Archiv Orientalni* IV, pp. 72 foll.), to live, inhabit, take refuge.

¹⁰⁰ *Qatna*, a city well known from various cuneiform records. Now *el-Misrife*, NE. of Homs (see *Syria* VII, pp. 289 foll.).

campaign of victory. The great *phr* of *Nhrn* (i. e. the Euphrates) was crossed by His Majesty at the head of his armies to the east of this water (course). He set up another one¹⁰¹ at the side of the stele of his father (l. 20) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt (*3-ḥpr-k3-r*) (Thothmes I, ca. 1535–1510 B.C.).¹⁰² Behold, His Majesty went downstream¹⁰³ plundering the towns and devastating the

¹⁰¹ The scribe or the engraver must have missed out the word *wdy*, stele, before the indefinite adjective *kyy*. Or is *kyy* to be taken here as an indefinite pronoun referring to the following *wdy*?

BREASTED in his reconstruction of the Annals (*AR* II, p. 201, § 478) takes it that the erection of the stele east of the Euphrates was described in the preceding lacuna. SETHE's reconstruction, however, is more plausible in as much as it takes into account the available space. See *Urk.* IV, p. 646.

¹⁰² The title *father* need not be taken here too literally; it merely refers to his predecessor.

¹⁰³ *ḥdy*, which both M. MÜLLER, *Asien und Europa*, p. 264 and BREASTED, *AR* II, pp. 202, 479 translate *northwards*, means primarily to travel downstream, hence, in Egypt, down the Nile, northwards. In overland journeys and sea voyages it obviously could not mean anything else but to travel north. In this connection, however, when sailing on a river is involved, it is just possible that the verb has its original meaning; the direction of the journey would then be southwards, or rather SE.

The main reason for raising this question is the sequence of events in the Mitannian campaign. Thothmes reaches the Euphrates (probably like every traveller through northern Syria, via Aleppo, somewhere near Meskene), sails on the river, meets and defeats the king of Mittanni, and then sails back. Obviously Thothmes sails from the bend of the Euphrates in that direction in which he expects to meet the king of Mitanni. Now the site of *Waššukkanni*, the capital of Mitanni, whence the king was most likely to come, is not yet fixed. Some scholars place it east of Harrān (so WEIDNER in *MDOG* 58, p. 58), others at the headwaters of the Ḥābūr (*Rāsi-l-Ain*, so HROZNÝ in *Ar. Or.* 1929, pp. 95 foll.; near the same place, OPITZ in *ZA XXXVII*, pp. 299 foll.; Tell Fecheria, south of *Rāsi-l-Ain*, M. v. OPPENHEIM, *Der Tell Halaf*, pp. 58 foll. Hurri, the other suggested capital of a parallel state, is placed by HROZNÝ at ʾUrfa, see *Ar. Or.* 1929, pp. 96 foll. and 1931, pp. 281 foll.). In any of these cases the shortest and easiest route from the capital to the valley of the Euphrates, where the road from Aleppo to Meskene joins it, is down the course of the Balīḥ (in the case of ʾUrfa and Harrān) or the Ḥābūr (in the case of the neighbourhood of the headwaters of that river). The confluences of both tributaries with the Euphrates lie downstream from Meskene. Consequently, Thothmes on reaching the valley of the Euphrates would have been more likely to sail *downstream* (south) than *north* (upstream).

BREASTED thinks that the battle with the king of *Nhrn* during this eighth campaign is the battle of Karkemish mentioned by Amonemhab in his biography

country-side¹⁰⁴ of *that* (contemptuous pronoun used) fallen one of *Nhrn* the wretched¹⁰⁵ [Then, he (i. e. Pharaoh) sail]ed¹⁰⁶ (on the river) for miles in pursuit of them. Not one looked (l. 21) behind himself,¹⁰⁷ except those who hastened¹⁰⁸ to give themselves up (as prisoners),¹⁰⁹ (they fled) like a herd of wild animals. Lo,

(*Urk.* IV, p. 891). However this part of Amonemhab's biography seems concerned with his activities under Amenophis II, as the name of Thothmes III is introduced later and is followed by the description of Amonemhab's deeds under the latter monarch in various Palestino-Syrian campaigns. See below, p. 220 foll. See also note 110 below.

¹⁰⁴ *whw.w.t*, country-side. Though this is a parallel passage to the one translated above (p. 2, l. 9 of the G. B. stele), where the word *whyy.w.f* was translated "his tribes", it has been thought preferable to translate the same word here as *country-side* because of the determinative. In the G. B. stele the word is determined by the signs of man and woman (A. H. GARDINER, *op. cit.*, pp. 435 and 441, signs, A-1 and B-1), and is correspondingly translated as a collective of human beings, nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes as opposed to the settled townsfolk; whereas here the determinative is "foreign land" (*ibid.*, 477, sign N-25) and is consequently taken as a topographical term: open settlements, homesteads in the country, as opposed to fortified towns.

¹⁰⁵ The gender of the adjective, apart from its place in the sentence, makes it quite clear that it refers to the state, and not, as usually, to the king.

¹⁰⁶ There is a large break here in the Annals (some 1.75 ms. long; see *Urk.* IV, p. 697, note i-k), which must have originally contained an account of the battle on the Euphrates, the defeat of the Mitannians, and the Egyptian pursuit. Of the verb used in this connection only the temporal and personal suffixes *n.f.* remain. Whether the verb used here was *hdy* as reconstructed by SETHE (*ibid.*, l. 11) is questionable (see note 103 above). I should prefer to read [*hnty*].*n.f.* he sailed upstream, which would mean that after the defeat the king of Mitanni retreated up the valley of the Euphrates, drawing the Egyptians after him away from the road to his capital *Wasšugganni*. See also note 110 below.

¹⁰⁷ This refers to the headlong flight of the enemy, who did not stop to look behind them. See, however, below, p. 217.

¹⁰⁸ *yfd*, to run away, to hasten, is probably connected with the Assyrian *abātu* (in Nif.): Hebrew אָבַד (as in Deut. 26⁵, אָבַדְתִּי אֶתְּבִי, to flee, to wander. For cases in which an Egyptian *f* equals a Semitic *b* see A. EMBER, *Egypto-Semitic Studies*, p. 55, § b.

¹⁰⁹ This clause comes *en parenthèse* for immediately after it is resumed the description of the flight of the enemy.

dwn, means literally to bow down, to stretch oneself on one's abdomen, to make obeisance. *yfd m dwn*, would mean literally: those who hastened in making their obeisance, i. e. those who hastened to give themselves up. In order to do that they had, of course, to turn round and face their pursuers; consequently, they were the only ones who looked behind them.

the chariotry stampeded . . .” After a lacuna of some 2.35 mm. the narrative is resumed with the account of the booty taken in this battle, followed by another lacuna, which apparently contained a description of the devastation wrought by the Egyptian troops on the east bank of the Euphrates, of which only the last sentence remains: . . . “their crops were plucked out.”

“His Majesty reached the town (l. 23) of Niyy, going upstream¹¹⁰ according to the coming of His Majesty (i. e. he returned the way he came), after he had set up his stele in Nhrn, in extending the frontiers of Egypt. . .”¹¹¹

On comparing this account with lines 8–13 of the G. B. stele, it becomes at once obvious that the G. B. stele refers to Thothmes’s eighth campaign, on his first encounter with the King of Nhrn.

Judging by the fact that two years later the king of Nhrn appears on the northern coast of Syria¹¹² having gathered “chariots with their crews . . . from the utmost ends of the earth, numerous were they more than the sand on (lit. of) the beach,¹¹³ having come afar to do battle with His Majesty,”¹¹⁴ and judging also by the comparatively meagre booty taken by Thothmes III after the battle on the

¹¹⁰ *hnty* means also to travel south, but as in the case of *hdy*, its original meaning is connected with orientation on the Nile, to travel upstream. It is preferable to assume that in this case, too, the verb has its original meaning: in the case of the Euphrates it would actually mean travel northwards. The arguments in favour of this assumption were stated in notes 103 and 106 above. The location of Niya is discussed below, pp. 218 foll.

¹¹¹ Read: *š.wšh*. Here comes a lacuna some 2.75 ms. long, after which begins the account of the *Rtnw* tribute brought that year. Sethe surmises, and no doubt quite rightly, that this break contained the narrative of the elephant-hunt.

¹¹² *Urk.* IV, pp. 709–714. As the starting point of this campaign was not inland (as in the 8th year), but on the coast (*hr d3hy*), and since no mention is made of the Euphrates and the district round it, it is probable that the new encounter took place in the coastal region of northern Syria. The exact location and identification of the town of *ʾr(3)yn(3)* are unknown. It is, however, to be remembered that the combination *3rn* is very common in Hittite names (it is usually associated with running water, thus Orontes), Cf. *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung* 1927, 75 foll. and also in A. REUBENI, *הם ויפתח*, pp. 138–139. For these as well as some other references I am indebted to Dr. B. MAISLER.

There is also a second possibility, that the name may have some connection with the divine name *ʾAdeyān*, newly discovered in the *Rās Šamra* epics.

¹¹³ Cf. *וַיֵּצְאוּ הֵם וְכָל־מִחְנֵיהֶם עִמָּם עַם־רָב כַּחֹד פְּחוֹד אֲשֶׁר עַל־שְׂפַת־הַיָּם דָּרָב*. (Jos. 11⁴).

¹¹⁴ *Urk.* IV, p. 710.

Euphrates in his eighth campaign,¹¹⁵ it seems very doubtful whether the rout of the *Nhrn* forces was as complete, and their flight as disorderly and headlong, as Thothmes would have us believe.

The G. B. stele seems to throw new light on this episode in pointing out, to the historian who cares to read between the lines, the strategy adopted by the king of *Nhrn*.

The ruler of *Nhrn*, who must have been accustomed to petty skirmishes with the puny chieftains of northern Syria, failed to realize the force of the Egyptian conquest. He must have met the Egyptians with an inadequate army. He was defeated in battle, but not vanquished. Whereupon he adopted the tactics executed some three millennia later by the Russian general Kutusoff at the time of the Napoleonic invasion in 1812. The king of *Nhrn* continued to retire to the northern districts of his kingdom leaving the conqueror to spend his fury in devastating the country. Thus l. 13: "Behold, he fled before His Majesty to another land, a distant place . . ."

That this policy was completely successful we can judge by the results. Thothmes had to abandon the fruitless pursuit and return to Egypt without having accomplished anything east of the Euphrates, except the havoc he seems to have wrought there, and even that may be exaggerated.

Two years later the king of *Nhrn* was making trouble again west of the Euphrates. Though defeated this time, too,¹¹⁶ he was not annihilated as a factor of trouble in northern Syria, for even seven years later Thothmes (in his 42nd year, i. e. his 16th and last campaign in Syria) had to dislodge and capture Mitannian garrisons as far south as the district round Qedeš on the Orontes.¹¹⁷

In fact, it was not till the time of Thothmes' third successor (Amenophis III, ca. 1414-1379 B.C.) that a treaty of good will and mutual support was concluded by the sovereigns of Egypt and Mitanni, whereby the latter acknowledged Egyptian suzerainty over

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 698. Though the list is incomplete (it is some 2 ms. long in its present state) considerations of space make it very unlikely that it was ever large. To gain some idea of length of similar lists cf., e. g., the list of booty from Megiddo (*Urk.* IV, pp. 663-664), which is over 10 m. long or the list of booty taken at the battle of *Ynrṯw* (*Urk.* IV, pp. 690-691), which is just under 4 m. long.

¹¹⁶ See note 114.

¹¹⁷ *Urk.* IV, p. 730.

northern Syria up to the Euphrates. And this was not due to any achievements of the Pharaohs, but to the pressure exercised by the Assyrians and Hittites on the eastern and western frontiers of Mitanni, respectively.

Herein lies the second important new contribution of the G. B. stele to the history of the Near East at the time of the Egyptian clash with the Asianic powers.

The fact that the narrative of the *Nhrn* campaign is followed by the account of the elephant-hunting expedition confirms the suggestion put forward by SETHE at the time of his publication of the Annals of Karnak,¹¹⁸ namely that this expedition, which so far had been known only from the biography of Amonemhab,¹¹⁹ took place during the eighth campaign.

The full reconstruction of this episode depends largely on the correct identification of Niya.¹²⁰ Niya appears in three classes of sources: in Egyptian records of the XVIIIth dynasty, from Thothmes I (ca. 1535-1510 B.C.) till Amenophis II (ca. 1447-1423 B.C.),¹²¹ in the *Tell-i-Amārnā* letters (end of the XVth to beginning of the XIVth centuries B.C.)¹²² and in the Hittite annals of Šubbiluliuma (ca. 1400-1360 B.C.).¹²³

Let the Egyptian sources be examined first. The earliest is an inscription of Thothmes I dedicating the ivory he brought with him from his Syrian raid. The name Niya is actually mentioned in the surviving portion of the text, but since the text is mainly reconstructed by SETHE¹²⁴ it is difficult to place much reliance in the coupling of Niya and *Nhrn* and draw the conclusion that Niya must have actually been situated within the territory of Mitanni proper. That Mitanni equals *Nhrn* is proved now beyond doubt by the G. B.

¹¹⁸ *Urk.* IV, p. 699.

¹¹⁹ *Urk.* IV, pp. 893-894.

¹²⁰ So in the cuneiform record of the treaty between Šubbiluliuma of Hatti and Mattiuaza of Mitanni in E. F. WEIDNER, *Politische Dokumente aus Kleinasien*, p. 11, text l. 30.

¹²¹ The list of documents is fully enumerated in H. GAUTHIER, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques*, III, p. 72, s. v. *ni*. There is only one more document to be added, the G. B. stele.

¹²² H. KNUDTZON, *Die el-Amarna Tafeln*, pp. 1115 foll.

¹²³ See note 120 above. There is a wide difference of opinion in fixing the regnal years of Šubbiluliuma. I have adopted here the date given by HOGARTH in *CAH* II, pp. 260 foll.

¹²⁴ *Urk.* IV, p. 104, ll. 2-8 and E. NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari* III, pl. 80.

stele, in which the two are used interchangeably (cf. l. 9 . . . *m t3 pf n Nhrn h'y.n nb.f n šnd* = "in that land of *Nhrn* which its Lord has deserted for fear" with ll. 12-13 . . . *hr h'hy hrw pf hsy (n n3 n? ¹²⁵) h3š.wt Min* = "to search for that miserable fallen one of the lands of Mitanni"). The same stele also fixes the boundary of *Nhrn*, which is important for the present discussion. ll. 11-12 expressly state: . . . *r d3 ytr pf '3 yr r ymywty h3š.t tn r Nhrn* = "in order to cross that great river which flows between this (foreign) land and *Nhrn*." It is quite clear, therefore, that the boundary between *Nhrn* and Syria was the Euphrates. If, however, one accepts fully SETHE's reconstruction of the document, Niya must be in *Nhrn*, i.e. in the northern plain between the upper courses of the Euphrates and Tigris. At the utmost one could stretch a point and include also the right (western) bank of the Euphrates or its immediate vicinity.

The next Egyptian monument making mention of Niya is the Annals of Karnak (Thothmes III). This district is mentioned in two places: 1) in the account of the eighth campaign, which has been completely analyzed above;¹²⁶ 2) in list C of the conquered territories.¹²⁷ Here, too, it is difficult to draw conclusions, as the immediate neighbours of Niya in this list are all names of places so far unidentified. However SETHE, basing himself on various considerations, suggests that Niya must have been situated east of the Euphrates.¹²⁸

The next document is a badly mutilated stele of Amenophis II,¹²⁹ the only contribution of which to the problem of Niya is the date on which Amenophis entered that city. It seems that he took fourteen days to march from the place where he crossed the Orontes to Niya. Even this, however, is not certain, for the date of the crossing may be a month earlier.¹³⁰ Again, seeing that it is not known where Amenophis crossed the Orontes, and at what speed he travelled, this piece of information is not particularly helpful.¹³¹

¹²⁵ See Note 28 above. ¹²⁶ See above, pp. 213 foll. ¹²⁷ *Urk.* IV, p. 788.

¹²⁸ *Urk.* IV, pp. 786-788. ¹²⁹ *ÄZ* 17, pp. 55 foll.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 56, inscription l. 4, where no numeral seems to appear after the word *3bd*. It is, therefore, uncertain whether the month referred to is the 1st or the 2nd month of the summer season (*šmw*).

¹³¹ M. MÜLLER's suggestions (*Asien und Europa*, pp. 265-267) concerning the speed of travelling may be quite correct, but they would not help in the solution of the problem.

Next follows the biography of Amonemhab.¹³² Here we are told of Amonemhab's prowess in saving Thothmes III's life during the historic elephant-hunt. This excerpt, too, is given in full translation below.¹³³ It might be added, however, that on the whole Amonemhab is fairly consistent in his geography. The stories of his captures, e. g., are all arranged in geographical order: thus, he starts with the Negeb, mentions the arrival to the frontiers of *Nhrn*,¹³⁴ the fight west of Aleppo, then the battle of Karkemish and the pursuit east of the Euphrates. His exploits under Thothmes III¹³⁵ are also arranged in geographical order. The first battle mentioned is that of Sinzar,¹³⁶ then follows the capture of Qedeš, next comes a destroyed name compounded with *phw*, which reminds one of the district round the bend of the Euphrates (*phw t3*). The following victory is won at 'the land of *Thsy*, at the town of *Mry* . . . (or *Mrsw* . . .?).¹³⁷ Though the town is unknown, the district [also known as (*matu*) *tah-ši* of the 'Amārnah letters,¹³⁸ the *תחש* of the Bible—Gen. 22²⁴] is usually placed NW. of Aleppo.¹³⁹ The following episode is the elephant-hunt at Niya, which again seems to bring us to the neighbourhood of the northern course of the Euphrates.¹⁴⁰

The last Egyptian document mentioning Niya is the largely destroyed Karnak list of cities captured in Palestine and Syria by Amenophis II.¹⁴¹ There Niya appears in the following sequence: 1. Upper(?) *Rīnw*, 2. Lower(?) *Rīnw*,¹⁴² 3–11. destroyed. 12. Qedeš, 13.

¹³² *Urk.* IV, pp. 890 foll.

¹³³ See p. 225.

¹³⁴ *Urk.* IV, pp. 890–891. It is obvious that with the reign of Amenophis II the frontier shifted south, for the Egyptian army reaches the frontier of *Nhrn* before the battle of the Heights of *w'n*, west of Aleppo, was fought.

¹³⁵ *Urk.* IV, pp. 891–894.

¹³⁶ Identified already by M. MÜLLER (*op. cit.*, p. 267) with *Qal'at Seijār*.

¹³⁷ Possibly "the canal (*mry* with this determinative sign N-36 of GARDINER's list) of . . . (name erased)".

¹³⁸ *EAT* 189, Rs. 12; and 197, 19.

¹³⁹ M. MÜLLER, *op. cit.*, pp. 251 and 258, also the map at the end of the volume. See however, KNUDTZON, *EAT*, p. 1112, where WEBER places the district in the region immediately north of Damascus, without suggesting a definite identification.

¹⁴⁰ *Urk.* IV, pp. 893–894. The next two episodes take us back to Qedeš, but they may be chronologically later.

¹⁴¹ MÜLLER, *Egyptological Researches* I, pls. 54–55.

¹⁴² Or vice-versa; cf., however, *Urk.* IV, p. 907, in which the same order is observed.

Aleppo, 14. Niya, 15. *Š3d3r3*, 16. Tunip, 17. Qaṭna, 18. *Hwd3r3*, 19–24. destroyed. The enumeration from 1–14 seems to be definitely proceeding from south to north till it reaches Niya; then it swings back in a southern direction: 15–17. Sinzar(?), Tunip and Qaṭna.¹⁴³ The only conclusion again is that Niya was the northernmost outpost of the Egyptian Empire in Asia, in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates.

The two 'Amārnah letters which mention the name of Niya¹⁴⁴ do not help at all in the identification. On the contrary, they make the question still more confused by suggesting a very intimate connection between Niya and city-states lying in southern Syria: Amurru, Qinza, Qaṭna, Ube, Amqi and others.

There remains the Hittite record of Šubbiluliuma:¹⁴⁵ the text of the treaty between Šubbiluliuma of Ḫatti and Mattiuaza of Mitanni. This pact is prefaced by an historical introduction giving details of the relation of the two states in the past. According to this sketch Šubbiluliuma marched on *Waššugganni* through *Alše* and *Šuta*, which apparently lie at the foothills of the *Tūr 'Abdin* mountains. The text then continues: l. 27 . . . "In order to plunder it, I have reached *Waššugganni*. From the citadel of *Šuta* (l. 28) I have taken oxen, sheep . . . (l. 29) but Tušratta the king has gone off. To meet me in battle he did not come. (l. 30) Then I turned back and crossed the Euphrates. The land of *Halpa* and the land of *Mukišhi*, I have become their lord. Takuwa, the king of *Niya*, came to meet me at the land of *Mukišhi* to sue for peace . . ." Then follows the description of a rebellion in *Niya* and *Araḫti* which was quelled by Šubbiluliuma and the rebels deported. Then follows the account of the conquest of *Qaṭna*, *Nuḥašši*, *Abina* and *Qinza*.

It is easy to see that the various sources of information fall into two groups: the cuneiform group (the 'Amārnah letters and the Hittite record) and the hieroglyphic group (the various Egyptian monuments).

The first group does not supply any definite evidence as to the location of Niya, but all its documents associate Niya with various states in central and southern Syria: Amurru of the *el-'Amārnah* period (in the Lebanon district), Qaṭna (*el-Miṣrifeh*, in the neighbourhood

¹⁴³ No. 18 is possibly Hazor, which would bring us back to northern Palestine. ¹⁴⁴ *EAT*, pp. 326, 42 and 344, 28. ¹⁴⁵ See note 120 above.

of Homs), Qinza (Qadeš on the Orontes, *Tell Nebi Mind*), Abina (Ube 𐤀𐤁𐤍—in the neighbourhood of Damascus), Nuḥašši (𐤎𐤁𐤏𐤍—of the Zakur inscription, which must be in the neighbourhood of Ḥama), Amqi (probably the valley of Coelesyria). Several authorities have, therefore, tried to place Niya in central or southern Syria.¹⁴⁶

However, the evidence of the second group, the Egyptian documents, is quite decisively against such an identification. All Egyptian documents agree in bringing Niya into the closest connection with the Syro-Mitannian frontier on the Euphrates. Consequently most authorities have agreed until lately in placing this city-state between Aleppo and the Euphrates bend near Meskene.¹⁴⁷

Now there is a new point in evidence brought out by the G. B. stele: there ought to be a lake in the near neighbourhood. This new evidence excludes the line Aleppo-Meskene. I travelled along this route some years ago and failed to notice any such lake or water-hole.

It is clear, however, that Niya must be if not actually on the banks of the Euphrates at any rate within easy reach of the river—either on its west or east side.¹⁴⁸ It seems probable, therefore, that the town was situated somewhere between Meskene and Birejik. Such a position would also fit the sequence of events given in Šubbiluliuma's record. Šubbiluliuma comes from Asia Minor through

¹⁴⁶ Thus, CLAUS at *Niḥa* near *Zahle* in Coelesyria; DHORME and WEBER between Aleppo and the Euphrates; MASPERO, *Kafr-Nāya*, west of Aleppo; WINCKLER, *Qaḳat il-Muḏīq*, between Ḥama and el-Bāre; all these quoted from *EAT*, p. 1115 foll. See also MAISLER, *Unters. z. alten Gesch. Syr. u. Pal.*, p. 29, where newer materials are mentioned (but no other identifications). See also note 148 below.

¹⁴⁷ *CAH* II, p. 262 (HOGARTH): "It lay on the eastern edge of Syria proper, some way down the right bank of the Euphrates, below Carchemish."

¹⁴⁸ Professor ALBRIGHT, in an oral communication, wishes to associate himself with WINCKLER's identification of Niya with *Qaḳat il-Muḏīq*, the Syrian Apamea, in the neighbourhood of which lies the 𐤎𐤁𐤏𐤍. According to him this location would agree both with the cuniform evidence, which brings the place in close connection with the south-Syrian states, and the hieroglyphic evidence, which places the town on the Egypto-Mitannian frontier. He thinks that the frontier was actually somewhere in central Syria, while l. 12 of the G. B. stele, which speaks of the Euphrates as the frontier, was merely an Egyptian claim never made good in actual life. I owe to the courtesy of Professor ALBRIGHT the permission to publish this note.

the "Iron Gates" and over a pass across the Amanus range, crosses the Euphrates apparently near Birejik, and marching along the foothills of the *Tūr ʿAbdīn* range reaches *Waššugganni*. The king of Niya, not wishing to commit himself before the results of the struggle between Šubbiluliuma and Tušratta become evident, keeps to his own territory. After the taking of *Waššugganni*, Šubbiluliuma marches down the Balih or the Ḥābōr¹⁴⁹ back to the Euphrates valley and up that valley to Meskene, whence he strikes out to Aleppo. Now the king of Niya being surrounded by Hittite conquests on all sides hastens to Mukišhi (near Aleppo?) to report his submission.

Some additional evidence can perhaps be gathered from Assyrian elephant hunts. The first Assyrian king who puts on record a hunting expedition against elephants is Tiglath-pileser I (ca. 1110 B.C.), who states: "Ten mighty bull-elephants I slew in the country of Ḥarrān and in the district of the river Ḥābōr. Four elephants I caught alive. Their hides and their tusks together with the live elephants I brought into my city Assūr."¹⁵⁰ Another king who hunted elephants was Assūr-nazir-pal II (ca. 885–860 B.C.); but he does not, unfortunately, say where he hunted them. After this reign the elephants seem to have disappeared from Hither Asian territory.¹⁵¹

It is apparent, therefore, that in Assyrian times elephants were hunted between the Euphrates and the Ḥābōr, but not in Northern Syria, west of the Euphrates. It does not mean conclusively that there were no elephants in Northern Syria which the Egyptians, some three hundred and fifty years before the time of Tiglath-pileser I, could have hunted, but it is a pointer in that direction.

Lastly comes the evidence of the maps. On a map of the district near the bend of the Euphrates¹⁵² there is, on the left bank of the river, a Wādī Avij (ʿ*Awwīj*?), which shows remains of an extensive sheet of water in its middle course. This might well have been a small lake some 3500 years ago.¹⁵³ Some twenty kilometres NW. of this lake and about the same distance north of old Meskene there is, on the left bank of the Euphrates and in the

¹⁴⁹ See note 103 above.

¹⁵⁰ D. D. LUCKENBILL, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia* I, p. 86.

¹⁵¹ B. MEISSNER, *Assyrische Jagden*, p. 6.

¹⁵² *Meskene, édition provisoire Novembre 1925, échelle 1:200.000.*

¹⁵³ This watershed cannot and could not be salty since it has an outlet to the Euphrates through the dry river bed of the wādī.

river-valley, a row of old *tells*, some of them nameless, any one of which would suit the position of Niya. It is interesting to note that the old name seems to linger in the neighbourhood: two settlements (one on the left and one on the right bank of the Euphrates) are called ʾAbū Hanāyē, while another (on the right bank) is called *Tan-Nouyé*.¹⁵⁴ It seems probable that after a thorough surface exploration of this region, the identity of Niya might be attributed to one or other of these *tells*.

If this surmise is correct, far-reaching conclusions become possible. Would it be too bold to suggest a political move behind this hunting expedition? One can almost visualize the king of *Nhrn*, harrassed in his retreat by the pursuing Egyptians, reaching Niya, and, before evacuating it, suggesting that the notables of the town persuade Thothmes to remain a few days in the neighbourhood to relieve the retreating Mitannian army from the constant pressure of the pursuers. The district is well known for its big game. The monarch of Egypt allows himself to be persuaded that *hryw pf hsy n Nhrn* (that contemptible foe of *Nhrn*) is such a negligible enemy that the pursuit of his fleeing army need not be allowed to interfere with the truly royal sport. He consents to stop some days for a hunting expedition. He is guided to the watering place of the elephants at a lake near by. Was there a plot to assassinate Thothmes "by accident"? Certainly the Egyptians knew nothing about the hunting of elephants. Had they known anything about it the king would never have allowed himself to be caught "in the water between two rock-walls."¹⁵⁵

We can now reconstruct the little episode of the hunt. The native guides bring Thothmes and his retinue to the lake, the watering place which is the *rendezvous* of all game in the neighbourhood. The shores of the lake are a little precipitous, and the beasts had either used a small dry water-course or trodden out an inclined, narrow pathway running down to the lake. Here would be an excellent place to ambush any game returning after drinking. If the

¹⁵⁴ On a newer edition of this sheet (*Janvier 1933*) the place is marked *Tanouzé*, but the older editions based on Turkish military maps may have the correcter names. On the same newer edition the eastern of the two *Abou-Hanayé* villages has also disappeared, but that may be due to later desertion of the site.

¹⁵⁵ *Urk.* IV, p. 894.

guides were told to arrange for the annihilation of the king and his retinue they would have led them into the miniature canyon instead of ambushing the beasts above and shooting arrows or throwing lances at them as they passed. The unsuspecting Egyptians probably went down into the gorge, thus cutting off the retreat of the elephants. Then appeared the herd, led by a large bull elephant, who attacked the hunters blocking the passage with Thothmes at their head. At the first sign of trouble the native guides no doubt fled hurriedly away leaving the king to his fate. His fate would have been certain had it not been for the timely intervention of the general Amonemhab, who tells us: *ḥꜥ.n ššp.n p3 3bw 3 nty ym.sn ḥ3 r ḥft ḥm.f ynk šꜥd d.t.f yw.f nḥ m b3ḥ ḥm.f yw.y ḥꜥ.kwy m p3 mw ym.ywty ynr.wy* [Then, the large (bull)-elephant, which was among them, attacked His Majesty. I cut off his hand (undoubtedly: his trunk)—he being alive in front of his Majesty, while I was standing in¹⁵⁶ the water between two rock-(walls)].¹⁵⁷ With the death of the leader the rest of the herd could be easily dealt with. If there was a plot to assassinate Thothmes, and the evidence rather suggests it, it was frustrated.

Three more points of interest deserve special mention. First, great capital has been made of the supposedly lenient treatment meted out by Egyptian overlords to their newly conquered subjects. Various records which seemed to contradict this view were treated as exceptions. Historians have compared the Assyrian and Egyptian records of conquests and quellings of revolts to the disadvantage of the former.¹⁵⁸

If anything more was necessary to prove the fallacy of this accepted opinion, the G. B. stele supplies it. The full description of the deliberate devastation wrought on the east bank of the Euphrates, the gleeful tone and the joy shown in every line of this elaborate account,¹⁵⁹ contradict any suggestion of clemency towards

¹⁵⁶ *m*, literally, means *in*, but it may be a general indication of place, like the English *on*, meaning on the edge, near the shore (cf., e. g., such place names as Walton-on-Thames and the like).

¹⁵⁷ See note 140 above.

¹⁵⁸ BREASTED, *A History of Egypt*², p. 292.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. also *Urk.* IV, p. 729, where a whole string of cities is mentioned with a monotonous repetition of *šksk dmy pn* (this city was sacked), relieved once by an additional *wh3 yt.f ḥr šꜥd mn.w.f* (its grain was plucked out and its fruit-trees cut down). Such notices are by no means exceptional.

the vanquished. If we do not hear about mass impalings and flaying alive of rebellious chiefs—so frequent in Assyrian annals and reliefs—it may be simply because the technique of cruelty had not been carried to such refinement in the XV–XIV centuries B.C. as it was some 700–800 years later. And when one compares the innumerable reliefs of Egyptian pharaohs about to crush the combined heads of rebellious chiefs with ceremonial mace-heads, or when one reads the account of the treatment meted out by Amenophis II to the seven rebellious chiefs,¹⁶⁰ these seem no less inhumane than the Assyrian records.

The second point concerns the question of revised editions of the annals of Thothmes. It is not often that we are able to check accounts of events in two or more official versions published at successive periods. What is known of such re-editing of Assyrian annals has definitely shown that successive editions are apt not only to exaggerate the importance of facts and magnify statistics out of all proportion to reality, but also to recast completely the real course of events, turning crushing defeats into splendid victories.¹⁶¹ The G. B. stele, engraved according to its heading in the 47th year of Thothmes's reign, twenty-four years after the battle of Megiddo, shows quite definitely a similar tendency. The Annals of Karnak, which must have been engraved piecemeal shortly after the close of each campaign, or at least faithfully copied from such contemporary records, speak of Thothmes's address to his troops at the time of the siege of Megiddo, in which he says: "For it is the capture of a thousand cities, the capture of Megiddo";¹⁶² but at the same time it is nowhere suggested in these annals that this number is not a pure figure of speech. In fact the list of towns captured in the first campaign contains only 119 names.¹⁶³ The three parallel lists giving the names of these towns, no doubt every one of them a seat of a puny kinglet, are expressly headed in two cases¹⁶⁴ "The list of the (foreign) countries of Upper *Rtnw*, which His Majesty incarcerated (besieged) in the town of Megiddo

¹⁶⁰ BREASTED, *A History of Egypt*², p. 325 and *AR* II, § 797.

¹⁶¹ A. T. OLMSTEAD, *History of Assyria*, pp. 579–580. The glossing over of a crushing defeat by a picturesque official account, in which Sanherib is represented raging like a lion or the like, is described *ibidem*, pp. 293–5.

¹⁶² *Urk.* IV, p. 660. ¹⁶³ *Urk.* IV, pp. 781–786. ¹⁶⁴ *Urk.* IV, p. 780.

the wretched, and the children¹⁶⁵ of which he carried off as living captives to the city of *w3s.t* (Thebes)," while in the third case the list is headed¹⁶⁶ "All lands,¹⁶⁷ (to the) northern boundaries of *sty.t* (the Asianic provinces, see above, p. 196), which his Majesty carried off as living captives, and among whom he made great slaughter." The headings do not leave any doubt as to the number of kings besieged in Megiddo, namely 119. One cannot even claim that these lists contain only the kings of those city-states which were actually subdued during the first campaign, not counting those that escaped and were not subdued till later, since the list is headed by Qedeš on the Orontes, which was not captured till several years later, while it also includes the names of Damascus (No. 13) and possibly Beyrouth (No. 19 or 109?), which most probably were not captured till some years later. Nor will another excuse avail, namely that the number 330, given in the G. B. stele, includes all those states which Thothmes ever captured in Palestine and Syria, for the whole list includes at least 359 towns,¹⁶⁸ and Thothmes was not a king to overlook thirty or more cities which could add to his glory. The only conclusion is that the original number of 119 swelled from edition to edition until it reached the convenient number of 330.

There is another pointer in this direction. It is quite evident from the Annals of Karnak that the king of Qedeš escaped from Megiddo during the siege.¹⁶⁹ It would be comprehensible if in a stele, erected in another conquered territory, the author of the inscription should have omitted to state this fact. But not only is this fact passed over in silence, but it is rather implied in l. 21

¹⁶⁵ The word *h3s.wt* (foreign countries) obviously stands here for rulers (*wr.w*). The word *msy.w* (literally: children) may mean either actually children—princes, or, more plausibly, inhabitants. See also note 46 above.

¹⁶⁶ *Urk.* IV, pp. 780–781. This is the longest list and contains some 359 place-names. ¹⁶⁷ Again countries for kings.

¹⁶⁸ *Urk.* IV, pp. 788–794. It is possible that some place-name were accidentally duplicated. Cf., e. g., Nos. 202 and 216; or 208 and 313 and 333 (?), though it is more likely that these represented synonymous towns in various localities. Thus, *בִּי־רֹחַ* could be one in Benjamin in Palestine and the other Beyrouth in Syria. We know that Palestine itself had at least four towns called Gath *Ges.-BUHL*, s. v. *גַּת* and six towns called Gibeah (*ibid.*, s. v. *גִּבְעָה*).

¹⁶⁹ BREASTED, *A History of Egypt*², p. 291.

(see above, p. 202) that the king of Qedeš was one of those who surrendered at the capitulation of the city.¹⁷⁰ And this is not a true report of the course of events.

The third point concerns the literary composition of the stele. The laudatory parts of the inscription seem to follow a vague general formula. Occasionally verses with parallel halves appear, e. g.:

1. 2. . . . *yt.n.y rs.yw hr wd k3.f*
mh.tyw hft šm.f . . .

1. 3. . . . *yr š.t mt.yw štt*
s.hr btm.w nw hr.yw-š
wf t3.w nw phw-t3
sqr ywn.tyw nw t3-šty.

In certain places one can also notice an attempt to divide the semi-poetical text into verses beginning with parallel phrases. Thus, from l. 4 onwards:

1. 4 . . . *nšwt pw* . . . followed by seven more or less parallel sentences.

1. 7 . . . *hr pw* . . . followed by six shorter sentences.

1. 8 . . . *k3 pw* . . . followed by four similar sentences.

1. 8 . . . *nšwt pw* . . . followed by three parallel sentences.

Then follows a prose narrative of the devastation wrought by the Egyptians on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, after which the poetical style is again resumed in l. 12:

1. 12 . . . *nšwt šw.t* . . . followed by further prose narratives, with a last poetical outburst in l. 15, opening with the now stereotyped

1. 15 . . . *nšwt pw* . . . followed by four parallel sentences. Then the prose narrative is resumed continuing till the mutilated end of the stele.

It seems that by the XVIIIth dynasty there existed already a stock of standard poetical phrases,¹⁷¹ on which every scribe could draw when composing a laudatory inscription. That the author of this G. B. stele was no poet is seen not only in his rather standar-

¹⁷⁰ *hrw pf hsy* without further identification is usually the king of Qedeš. See *Annals, Urk. IV*, p. 663, l. 13. The king of Megiddo is denoted by the addition of *n Mkty* (of Megiddo), so *Urk. IV*, p. 663, l. 15.

¹⁷¹ This does not mean, of course, that inspired poetical compositions do not occur in Egypt of the XVIIIth dynasty even before the religious revival of *Aḥnaton*. Cf., e. g., the Hymn of Triumph on the stele of Thothmes III (*Urk. IV*, pp. 611 foll.).

dised, but also in those parts of the narrative in which he had to abandon flowery generalizations and describe an actual event. His prose then follows the usual dry scribal style.

The choice of the particular episodes related in this stele shows, however, an unerring judgment. The two most important events of Thothmes's campaigns in Asia are introduced: the reduction of Megiddo, which paved the road for the Egyptian Empire in Asia, and the defeat of the Mitannians, the chief opposing power. That the elephant-hunt is coupled with these two shows what an impression these huge beasts, unknown in Egypt,¹⁷² made on the contemporaries of Thothmes.

This choice of the most striking episodes by a scribe who otherwise shows himself possessed of but moderate literary skill, suggests that a draft of the general lines of the inscription was prepared either by the king himself or at least the royal chancellery, while the detailed work was left to one of the local scribes of the "colonial" service in Napata.

¹⁷² Ivory was, of course, known in Egypt since the dawn of history, but during the N. K. and possibly earlier it reached Egypt only as an import either from the south (Sudan) or from the NE. (Mitanni).

DIE KATHISMAKIRCHE AUF CHIRBET ABU BRĒK.

ALFONS M. SCHNEIDER

(JERUSALEM)

Der georgische Festkalender enthält unter dem 13. August folgende Notiz: „Auf der Straße nach Bethlehem, am Kathisma, am 3. Meilenstein, beim Weiler Betebri, Kirchweihe der Theotokos“.¹ Über die gleiche Kirche erfahren wir aus der Vita des Mönchsvaters Theodosius² weiter, daß sie im Auftrag der reichen Matrone Ikelia unter Vermittlung eines Mönches namens Anthus gebaut wurde und daß Theodosius eine Zeit lang dort wohnte, ehe er das nach ihm benannte Kloster (dēr dōsi) gründete. Nach einer einleuchtenden Konjektur GOUSSENS bezieht sich auf unsere Kirche noch eine weitere Notiz des gleichen Kalenders. Unter dem 12. Juli steht nämlich eine „Altarweihe im Priester Anthonbau“ (a.a.O., 27). Für Anthon ist aber nach GOUSSEN mit Recht Anthus zu lesen (vgl. auch unter dem 3. Dezember, a.a.O., 39).

Was es nun mit dieser Kathismakirche für eine Bewandnis hat erfahren wir aus der *Pilgerschrift* des THEODOSIUS (um 530):³ „Es gibt einen Platz am 3. Meilenstein von der Stadt Jerusalem aus, wo Maria, die Mutter des Herrn, während sie nach Bethlehem ritt, von der Eselin stieg, sich auf einen Felsen setzte und ihn segnete“. Es wird dann noch weiter erzählt, wie der praepositus sacri palatii Urbicius diesen Felsen abhauen ließ, um ihn nach Konstantinopel zu schaffen, ihn aber schließlich, durch ein Wunder gehindert, doch in Jerusalem lassen mußte, wo man ihn „hinter dem Grab des Herrn“ sehen konnte. Dieser Urbicius soll unter Kaiser Anastasius (491–518) gestorben sein. Der ANONYMUS VON PIACENZA (TOBLER, a.a.O., 107) redet von einer Quelle auf dem Weg zwischen Jerusalem und Bethlehem, bei der Maria auf der Flucht nach Ägypten gerastet und sich gelabt habe. Dort sei eine Kirche.

¹ GOUSSEN, *Über georg. Drucke und Handschriften, die Festordnung und den Heiligenkalender des altchristl. Jerusalem betreffend*. München-Gladbach 1923, 29.

² ASS 11. Januar.

³ TOBLER, *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, I, 1879, S. 69.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.

Wo lag nun diese Kirche?

Die Meilenangabe führt in die Nähe des Mär Eljäsklosters. Kurz ehe man dorthin kommt, liegt hart an der Straße eine gemauerte Zisterne deren Name —bīr kadīsmu— augenscheinlich mit kathisma (= Sitz) identisch ist. Doch sind dort keinerlei Kirchenreste zu sehen.¹ ABEL (*RB* 1924, 617) sucht die Kirche auf dem etwa 400 m nordostwärts davon gelegenen Ruinenhügel chirbet abu bräk, in dessen Nähe sich jetzt die Kolonie Ramath Rachel befindet. Zu dieser chirbe führt die alte Straße nach Bethlehem, die von Talpiot aus noch sehr gut zu verfolgen ist. Ein Mann der genannten Kolonie fand nun auf der chirbe zufällig ein verschüttetes, gut gearbeitetes Kapitell eines Eckpfeilers sowie sonstige Reste, deren Photos ich meinem Freunde Stekelis verdanke (Pl. IV, Fig. 1 und 2). Auch ein Mosaikboden wurde, freilich in bedeutender Tiefe, festgestellt. Die topographische Ansetzung dieser Kirche durch ABEL hat sich also auf das Schönste bestätigt. Die Kirche dürfte etwa um die Mitte des V. Jahrh. erbaut sein (KLAMETH, *Lokaltraditionen* 1, 60; RIESS, *a.a.O.*, 20).

Anlaß zur Sage mögen wohl die seltsamen erhöhten Schalensteine neben den Zisternen dieser Ruine,² gegeben haben, die sehr wohl von Landesunkundigen als „Sitz“ (kathisma) angesehen werden konnten. Der Steinklotz, der heute in der griechischen Kirche von bēt dshāla als kathisma gezeigt wird, ist wohl der Rest eines Wasserkanals, auf keinen Fall aber ein Sitz.

Weitere ganz bedeutende byzantinische Reste fand ich auf der Anhöhe gleich östlich hinter mär eljās: gut behauene Steine, marmorne Verkleidungsplatten, Keramik. Doch können diese Reste nicht für die Kathismakirche in Frage kommen, da der Platz ja nicht an der Bethlehemstraße liegt.

¹ Mit den Steinhäufen, die RIESS, *ZDPV* XII (1889) 23, dafür hält, hat es nichts auf sich.

² Vgl. darüber FAST in *ZDPV* XLVII, (1924) 343.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Mishnah. Translated from the Hebrew with Introduction and brief Explanatory Notes. By Dr. HERBERT DANBY. Pp. XXXII + 844. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1933. 18 sh.

It is not proposed in this review to dwell on the obvious advantages provided by an English translation of the Mishnah which for the first time enables the English-speaking world to have easy access to the entire work. The various appendices explaining Hebrew technical terms, tables of money, weights and measures, the summary of the rules of uncleanness according to the Gaon of Wilna, the chronological table of Rabbis and the list of all Biblical passages quoted in the Mishnah, and the virtually exhaustive General Index,—all help to make this Oxford edition of the Mishnah both a reliable and a usable aid to the student. The explanatory notes are restricted to the barest essentials, but are complete in their references of the Bible and in their cross-references to sections of the Mishnah itself.

The present review aims at indicating a few customs and ideas, current in Palestine at the time of the Mishnah (in the first two centuries of the Christian era), still known and practised to-day. It should however be borne in mind that not all such customs and ideas to which there are modern parallels had their origin in the Mishnaic period. Many influences other than the Jewish ideas, preserved by the Mishnah, have affected the life and the thought of this part of the East.

The passages of the Mishnah, to which parallels are given, are indicated in brackets. The abbreviations are those used in Dr. DANBY's edition.

The laws of uncleanness which play so large a part in the Mishnah still play an important part in the everyday life of the Palestinian Arab. Despite the many differences between the former and the present ways of applying these laws, the fundamental ideas have remained more or less the same. The Palestinian still believes that blood is unclean. This uncleanness may be transmitted to others. In some parts of Palestine a woman during her unclean days had to sleep in a separate room. Every thing which she touches is rendered unusable. The butcher is not allowed to perform his prayers in blood-stained clothes. The spermatic fluid is also unclean (cf. pollution, Zab. 5¹¹). Blood and spermatic fluid were and are still believed to be the medium of life, the 'soul'. Therefore they are thought to possess supernatural powers, powers which can exert evil influences, called *kabseh*¹. Some believe that the spermatic fluid is clean, but in passing through the urethral canal (the urine canal) it becomes unclean. As intercourse with a menstruant is liable to inflict

¹ For the description of *el-kabseh* see CANAAN, *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin*, pp. 37, 39, 69.

the begotten child with leprosy, the unwritten laws of the Palestinian forbid it.¹ (With the above and also with the following parallels compare the Mishnah, Ber. 3⁶; Shab. 9¹; Pes. 9⁴; Yeb. 3¹⁶; Ket. 3¹; 7⁶; Makk. 3¹; Shebu. 2⁴; Eduy. 1¹; A. Zar. 3⁶; Hor. 1⁸; 2⁴; Ker. 3⁵⁻⁶; 4².) Owing to this belief concerning uncleanness (*nidjseh*) no woman, while in her unclean state, is allowed to enter a church, a mosque or a holy place (*weli*), nor can she perform her daily prayers (Mohammedans). She is neither allowed to prepare nor to touch any sanctified object (Makk. 3²), such as *ghurbniyeh*² bread and the *burbdrah* dish (made of boiled wheat with sugar, raisins, etc.). Therefore the *quddāseh* bread is prepared in the Syriac church by the priests themselves and within the convent (Kid. 1⁸). In some villages a menstruant is even forbidden to do any work for others. Some even refuse to eat anything prepared or touched by such a woman (Nidd. 9⁸). Only after taking a cleansing bath on the eighth day, and after changing or washing her clothes, could a woman perform her prayers. This is taught by the proverb *ba'd et-tāmin ughsul u'dāmin*, "After the eighth day wash (yourself) and (perform the duties of your) belief." After childbirth a woman must wait forty days before she may take a bath, for it said that "her grave is open (i.e. ready to take her) for forty days" (Ramallah; see Shab. 2⁶).

As blood is supposed to contain the soul ("life-blood", Zeb. 3¹⁻²) it is used in many magical ceremonies. The commingling of the blood of two different persons (see on the other hand Ker. 5¹) is therefore equivalent to the commingling of their souls. Such individuals enter into direct relationship. Love and friendship become more firmly established. A woman who is disliked by her husband tries therefore to win his favour by giving him a few drops of her blood in his food.³

Human (and, in less degree, animal) corpses are also unclean. The room of a dead person used to be sanctified, after the removal of the body, by prayers and incense (Acre district). A dead body may also exercise the *kabseh*. The water with which a dead person is ritually washed before burial is unclean and makes unclean (Naz. 9²; Eduy. 8⁴). A person who has come in contact with it has to change his clothes and to wash the exposed parts seven times. There are two regulations by means of which peasants measure the uncleanness of carrion. The saying *djāf 'alā djāf tahir balā hlāf*, "A dry thing (carrion) on a dry thing (food object) is without any dispute clean" explains the first belief. (For the

¹ Many Christian peasants used to forbid marital intercourse on certain feast days (cf. Taan. 1⁶).

² This term denotes loaves made of pure semolina (*smid*) and leavened with wheat leaven (*hamireh 'arabiyeh*). Generally five loaves are made (*widjeh*, pl. *wājūh*), of which the priest keeps four for himself. Smaller loaves are known as *quddāseh* (pl. *quddāsāt*). *Ghurbniyeh* (or *ghirbniyeh*) is made in fulfilment of a vow, *quddāseh* in remembrance of a living or dead person. Both are signed with a seal (*rašmeh*) and blessed by the priest in the church at the celebration of an important feast, such as *mār Elias*, *el-Ḥadr*, *sittna Mariam*, etc. Cf. CANAAN, *Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, pp. 176, 177.

³ This custom has practically died out.

principle, see the Mishnah, Maksh. pp. 758-767.) The following example explains this idea better than any description. If a dead mouse falls on a heap of corn, the corn does not become unclean. The mouse and the corn directly surrounding the same are thrown away. But such a corpse makes oil (Maksh. 6⁴) unclean, and the oil must be purified, before it can be used. This is done by pouring boiling water over the oil seven times. A small opening is made at the bottom of the jar and is closed with a piece of cloth. After each time of pouring boiling water the cloth is removed, thus allowing the water to flow out. The mouth of a cat is clean, but if she has eaten a rat it becomes for about 15 minutes unclean.

In order to purify the water of a cistern into which animal carrion has fallen one must throw into the cistern (after removing the carrion) seven (some say forty) baskets full of pure red earth, *samaqah*. Every basket must be immersed and lifted up violently and repeatedly until the earth is well mixed with the water (Šaffa, Siloah, Jerusalem). In several purification procedures earth may take the place of water. (Cf. Parah, pp. 697-714).

The second rule is that carrion of invertebrate animals and of such which do not have blood (see Par. 9²) are so slightly unclean that they do not cause any ritual uncleanness.

Every excretion which comes from one of the internal organs of a human or animal body is counted unclean. Such are excrements, urine, menstrual flow, the blood issuing after childbirth, a dead foetus, the placenta, urethral discharge and vomit (Hull. 4⁷; 7¹; 9²; Nidd. 3⁴).¹ On the other hand saliva, nasal and conjunctival discharges, and the coating of the tongue (fur) are not regarded as unclean and, therefore, do not prevent a person from performing his prayers. As a proof for the cleanness of the saliva the following is told. The Prophet Mohammed used, according to (ʿĀ)ṣḥāh, to spit in his hands at bed time, recite upon the same the first verses of Sūrah 112, 113 and 114 and then to wipe his body with this saliva. This procedure he repeated three times. Any kind of purulent discharge is believed to be even more unclean than blood. It is interesting to note that the excrements of babies, one year old or less, are said to be clean. No animals are used in threshing *ṣʿīr nabawī* (which is believed to be holy since it was the food of the prophets), lest it become unclean through their refuse. The person beating the ears must be ritually clean. (Moh. es-Safārīnī, *Kitāb ghidāʾu l-ʿalbāb liṣarḥ manẓūmatu l-ʿādīb*, II, 312.) The living foetus of a dying animal (sheep or goat), if extracted before the mother dies, is said to be clean and is eaten by some peasants. The placenta is never eaten (Zeb. 3⁵). But if a pregnant animal was vowed to a saint and is offered without knowledge of this condition, the foetus is thrown away (Tem. 7⁴).

The Mishnah regulations concerning unclean animals are not so widely known among the inhabitants of Palestine. All Palestinians regard the dog as unclean. The Mohammedans also include the pig in this category. Both animals are abhorred. A *ḥadīṭ* teaches "the angels will not enter a house where a dog

¹ The custom of burying things at crossroads, as mentioned in Hull. 4⁷, is still known.

is found".¹ The Mālikī sect do not regard the dog as unclean. The Palestinian makes a distinction between unclean animals and others which he may not eat. The general rule which seems to have been prevalent among the Mohammedans resembles in many points the law of the Bible. No animal with claws or with cutting incisor teeth should be eaten. But this rule is not strictly followed, for many peasants eat the hyena. The donkey is never eaten. The hyena is believed to ruminate only once a year. This condition brings it nearer to the category of the ruminants. Some allow only the right half of this animal to be eaten. The regulations about wild fowls have also some points of resemblance with Lev. 11¹⁸⁻¹⁹ and Hull. 3⁶. Birds with a curved beak where the upper part overlaps the lower one are as a rule not eaten. In other words no meat-eating animal should be eaten. Very interesting is the belief that hunted animals become unclean, if they die before they are slaughtered. In order to avoid such a loss it is recommended that a few small pieces of iron (ʿĒn Kārim) be mixed with the lead shot and that the name of God be invoked before shooting the animal. The name of God must be invoked each time an animal is slaughtered. Failure to do so makes the flesh forbidden as food. (Qorān, V, 4; II, 168; VI, 146; XVI, 115).

Different parts of Jerusalem, as in Mishnaic times (Kel. 1⁸) still bear different degrees of holiness. Jerusalem is believed to be holier than any other city. The Temple Area enjoys greater sanctity and the holiest spot of the city is the Holy Rock.²

Palestinians still adhere to the old custom of helping strangers, the poor, widows and orphans by allowing them to glean fields, vineyards, olive orchards and to a lesser extent vegetable gardens (M. S. 5¹⁰). The reapers are very particular not to reap every ear of corn and barley, and what falls on the ground is left as a rule for the gleaners. The peasants believe that by not doing so the fields will lose their *barakeh*, blessing. In some places the corners of the fields are left unreaped for the poor and stranger (Lev. 19⁹; 23²²; Deut. 24¹⁹).³ In making an offering of food to a saint one part of the food is given to the *qaiym* (the servant of the shrine) and another to the poor and orphans. In Šarāfāt and ʿĒn Kārim the offerer of a food-vow can eat of the same only in company with the poor and orphans. The same is done with a number of animal offerings slaughtered at festivals. In the last four days of Ramaḍān every Mohammedan family of Sarris and the surrounding villages tries to give a *raʿl bughdādi* (=9½ *okiyehs*) of corn, barley or dates to the poor. This gift is called *fuṭrah*.

The Mishnah's descriptions and rules concerning houses show many points of resemblance with prevalent conditions. From the description of B. B. 6⁴ we may infer that most of the houses used to be as small as those built in our days by the simple peasant. No Palestinian may make in his house a window from which the courtyard of his neighbour can be overlooked (cf. B. B. 3⁷).

¹ Transmitted by ABŪ TALHAH, see *رياض الصالحين من كلام سيد المرسلين*, p. 554.

² See MUDJIR ED-DĪN, *al-unsu-dj-djalil fi tāriḥ-il-Quds wal-Ḥalil*, pp. 201-213.

³ This unreaped corner is called "*malḥah*" and is left for *widjḥ allah*.

Most of the houses in the villages of the plain are still roofed with wooden beams and brushwood. The lintel of a house is still sprinkled on different occasions with the blood of offerings (Neg. 14¹). Until forty years ago any deed of sale or rent of a house mentioned every part of the building: the rooms, courtyard, side-chambers, store rooms, cistern, etc. Failure to do so would lead to difficulties for the owner or renter of those parts which were not clearly mentioned in the contract (B. B. 4¹⁻⁴). Uncleaness of a house, wherein a corpse was lying, has already been mentioned (cf. Eduy. 2⁵; Kel. 9²⁻⁶).

In the *ḥadīṭ* as well as in certain unwritten laws we meet with the same formula which is given in Peah 2⁶; Eduy. 8⁷; Jad. 4⁸; Ab. 1¹. This formula denotes an established tradition not derived from any Holy Book or written law. The same formula is also found in the religious *idjāzeh* (pl. *idjāzāt*, certificate) given by the *ṣēḥ* of a *ṭariqah* (sect) to his disciple. Such *ṣēḥs* are skilled in writing amulets (Shab. 6²).¹ This certificate is a long scroll of paper certifying that N.N. (giving his genealogy) who has taken and has received the initiation from the *ḥalīfeh* (the whole chain of *ṣēḥs* is given, until the founder of the *ṭariqah* is reached) has found that his adept . . . (with the entire genealogy of the latter) is a worthy follower of the order (*Mohammedan Saints and Sanctuaries*, p. 313).

T. CANAAN.

¹ Talismans are still carried in leather cases (cf. Shab. 8⁸).

CORRIGENDA

| | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--------------------|--|
| P. 165 n. 3, l. 5 | ex tigni | <i>should read</i> | ex qua tigni |
| 7 | mucleis | " " | nucleis |
| p. 175 l. 26 | languge | " " | language |
| p. 177 l. 13 | can both help | " " | can help |
| p. 179 l. 2 | College | " " | Collège |
| 27 | synchretism | " " | syncretism |
| p. 182 n. 4 | British Encyclopedia | " | Encyclopaedia Britannica |
| pl. III, Fig. 2 | <i>Invert</i> | | |
| p. 186 l. 21 | Wortoriginal | <i>should read</i> | Wort Original |
| p. 188 n. 2 | hiqqisch | " " | higgisch |
| p. 189 l. 5 | Ausstellung | " " | Aufstellung |
| p. 190 l. 36 | Zu | " " | In |
| p. 191 l. 21 | <i>omit comma after</i> | | Auch |
| p. 192 l. 19 | <i>insert deine before</i> | | urim |
| l. 27 | efed | <i>should read</i> | efod |
| l. 29 | gestützt vgl. Num. 27 ²¹ | " | gestützt (vgl. Num. 27 ²¹) |
| l. 37 | nach | <i>should read</i> | noch |
| " | mal'ah | " " | mal'ak |
| p. 195 l. 5 | Asianic | " " | Asiatic |
| n. 9, l. 4 | dependant | " " | dependent |
| p. 197 n. 20, l. 16 | genetive | " " | genitive |
| p. 199 n. 33, l. 3 | missed | " " | left |
| p. 202 n. 43, l. 1 | beseach | " " | beseech |
| p. 203 n. 52, l. 3 | for bearance | " " | forbearance |
| p. 206 n. 64, l. 6 f. | differentiation | " " | differentiation |
| l. 7 | fot | " " | for |
| p. 208 l. 2 | vally | " " | valley |
| p. 211 l. 11 | obstracted | " " | obstructed |
| p. 222 n. 148 l. 4 | cuniform | " " | cuneiform |
| p. 229 l. 1 | <i>insert 'style' before</i> | | comma |
| p. 230 f. | (Dr. SCHNEIDER's paper strangely makes no reference to Dr. MAISLER's excavations at Ramat Rachel, though the discovery of the objects described and the photographs reproduced, are due to the latter, whose publication appeared several months ago. Even the conclusions of the present paper were anticipated by the latter. W.F.A.) | | |

LE R. P. ALEXIS MALLON

Ancien Président de la Palestine Oriental Society.

Le 7 Avril 1934, le R. P. ALEXIS MALLON mourait à Bethléem, emporté par un mal qu'une dernière campagne de fouilles particulièrement dure dans la vallée du Jourdain avait rapidement aggravé. Avec le P. MALLON disparaît une des figures le plus marquantes et le plus originales de la philologie égyptienne et de l'archéologie palestinienne.

Né le 8 Mai 1875 à la Chapelle-Bertin (Haute-Loire), le P. MALLON arriva à l'âge de vingt ans en Orient, pour faire son noviciat de la Compagnie de Jésus à Ghazir (Liban). Là se décida en quelques mois sa vocation d'orientaliste, avant même de

The Arabic text of Dr. C. D. MATTHEWS' *The kitāb bā'itū-n-nufūs* of Ibnu-l-Firkāh will appear in the next number of the *Journal*.

études de théologie. Il y continua ses travaux favoris, pour venir reprendre en 1909 à Beyrouth la chaire de langues égyptienne et copte. Un an après il était appelé à Rome pour enseigner les mêmes sciences à l'Institut Biblique Pontifical.

Mais sa connaissance pratique de l'Orient et ses travaux scientifiques le désignèrent en 1913 pour mettre à exécution le projet de fondation d'une succursale de l'Institut Biblique Pontifical à Jérusalem. Dans la Ville Sainte, les soucis l'attendaient nombreux et non plus seulement d'ordre scientifique; la mission dont il était chargé comportait des difficultés particulièrement épineuses et son patriotisme profond, qui n'a jamais connu de défaillance, fut durement mis à l'épreuve. De suite, le P. MALLON donna toute sa mesure de prudence, de perspicacité et de tact. Les plus graves difficultés étaient surmontées lorsque la guerre éclata et l'obligea à quitter la Terre-Sainte.

Il se consacra alors à l'égyptologie, travailla en Egypte avec les Pères RONZEVALLE et BOVIER-LAPIERRE, puis, la tourmente passée, revint en 1919 à Jérusalem, où il s'adonna définitivement à l'archéologie de la Palestine. Son ouvrage *Les Hébreux en Egypte* écrit en majeure partie pendant son séjour au Caire, indiquait déjà cette tendance.

En Palestine, le P. MALLON se met d'abord en devoir de prendre contact avec le pays plus intimement qu'il n'avait pu le faire en 1913; il le parcourt en tous sens, observe, interroge et finit par avoir une connaissance du pays et de ses habitants qui lui faciliteront grandement par la suite ses recherches archéologiques. C'est le moment où les chantiers de fouilles s'ouvrent un peu partout en Palestine; il les visite souvent, se familiarise avec les problèmes pratiques de l'archéologie et commence à publier des chroniques et des études auxquelles sa maîtrise de l'archéologie égyptienne donne un intérêt tout particulier.

Dès son arrivée à Jérusalem en 1919, le P. MALLON s'était laissé captiver par une branche plus spéciale de l'archéologie, la préhistoire, dont il fut le véritable initiateur en Palestine. Nous lui devons entre autres dans ce domaine la découverte d'un grand nombre de stations de l'âge de la Pierre, un premier essai très méritoire de classification des industries et un répertoire des gisements, paru en 1925 et qui n'a rien perdu de son intérêt malgré les découvertes faites depuis. En 1928, il prend une part prépondérante à la fouille de la grotte d'Oumm-Qatafa, dont il étudie et publie le matériel de l'âge du Bronze, puis, dès l'année suivante, il découvre dans la vallée du Jourdain la ruine de Teleilat Ghassoul. Celle-ci lui révèle tout de suite l'importance de la civilisation qu'Oumm-Qatafa lui avait fait seulement entrevoir et qui auparavant n'était même pas soupçonnée.

Dès lors il consacre toute son activité à la fouille de ce site dont l'étendue et la richesse en une région aujourd'hui désertique avaient de quoi surprendre. La situation géographique de Teleilat Ghassoul, l'âge archéologique de la ruine lui font penser qu'il tient là une des villes de la Pentapole biblique. Il soulève alors la clameur de ceux, nombreux, qui accommodant Ecritures, données géographiques et géologiques à une tradition quelque peu légendaire, placent au sud de la Mer Morte les villes maudites. Mais le P.

MALLON ne se rebute pas; il supporte les contradictions et les raileries avec cette grandeur d'âme qui lui était habituelle et dont beaucoup devraient lui savoir gré. Son affabilité, sa bonté s'étendaient à tous, adversaires scientifiques comme amis.

Il mène donc dans la vallée du Jourdain cinq campagnes successives, met à jour des monuments et un matériel archéologique extrêmement importants, qui obligent à voir sous un jour nouveau les débuts de la civilisation du Bronze en Palestine. Son ouvrage *Teleilāt Ghassūl I*, paru au lendemain de sa mort, rassemble les fruits de ce dur labeur, mené le plus souvent sous un climat torride, dans des conditions matérielles extrêmement austères, sans une collaboration suffisante. Aussi la dernière campagne lui est-elle fatale et de son chantier de fouilles il est amené à son lit de mort.

Membre du bureau de la Société Française d'Égyptologie, le P. MALLON avait été un des représentants de la Palestine au Congrès des Orientalistes de 1928. Vice-Président en 1927 de la Palestine Oriental Society, il était élu Président l'année suivante. Depuis, comme membre de l'Editorial Board, il assurait l'édition des articles français de la revue. Il fut surtout un des principaux animateurs de notre Société, dont il faisait partie depuis sa fondation en 1921, et un de ses membres les plus actifs. Comme ses collaborateurs et amis, la Palestine Oriental Society lui gardera un souvenir plein d'admiration et de gratitude.

RENÉ NEUVILLE.

Jérusalem, Juillet 1934.

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du R. P. ALEXIS MALLON

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SEMITISED HURRIANS IN SYRIA AND PALESTINE

H. L. GINSBERG and B. MAISLER

(JERUSALEM)

In *Syria* XIV, 230-37, É. DHORME offers a reproduction and interpretation of "Deux tablettes de Ras Shamra de la campagne de 1932". One of these, R. S. 1932. 4475, is of such historical interest as to deserve a further examination of the historical problems raised. A new translation and philological commentary are also given here. The present translation, while not open to the objections raised by us against the renderings of the *editio princeps*, is not without its own difficulties and is only to be regarded as tentative.

TEXT

| | TRANSCRIPTION | TRANSLATION |
|------|---------------------------------------|--|
| Obv. | 1. <i>thm viwržr</i> | 1. Message of Ewirīzar |
| | 2. <i>l plsy</i> | 2. to Palsiya. |
| | 3. <i>r g m</i> | 3. <u>S A Y:</u> |
| | 4. <i>yšlm lk</i> | 4. <u>May it be well with you!</u> |
| | 5. <i>l trḡds</i> | 5. Regarding Targūdas |
| | 6. <i>w l klby</i> | 6. and (regarding) Kulibiya— |
| | 7. <i>šm't ḥṽi</i> | 7. Order of Arrest: |
| | 8. <i>nḥṽu ht</i> | 8. Arrest th- |
| | 9. <i>hm vinmm</i> | 9. em wherever they be ; |
| | 10. <i>nḥṽu w ḽak</i> | 10. Arrest [them] and send [them] |
| | 11. <i>my w yd</i> | 11. to me. Indeed, the love |
| | 12. <i>il'm p kmtm</i> | 12. of the gods is <i>here</i> like death : |
| | 13. <i>z m'id</i> | 13. very fierce, |
| | 14. <i>im ntḵp</i> | 14. terrible, mighty. |
| Rev. | 15. <i>m'nk</i> | 15. Thine answer, |
| | 16. <i>w mnm</i> | 16. and any |
| | 17. <i>rgm d tšm'</i> | 17. report that thou mayest hear |
| | 18. <i>imt w št</i> | 18. <i>there</i> , thou shalt put |
| | 19. <i>b spr my</i> | 19. <u>into a letter to me.</u> |

PHILOLOGICAL COMMENTARY

(That the opening formulas are copied from Akkadian models, is pointed out by DHORME.)

1. The fourth character in the name *ḫurṣar* resembles DHORME's \mathfrak{S}_2 . GINSBERG's \mathfrak{S} ,¹ rather than \mathfrak{S} : yet it is neither the one nor the other, but a sign employed in RŠ 1929:4 and in the fragment in Syria XII. 389. In both these—as HROZNÝ² has demonstrated, Hurrian—inscriptions, however, and in the cognate RŠ 1929:7, this character is the rule; though occasionally an ordinary \mathfrak{S} also occurs. The reason why our scribe employed the letter in question just in the name *ḫurṣar* and nowhere else in this document is plain: It is, like all the other three, a Hurrian name, and is known to us as such from Hurrian and Akkadian sources (see the Historical Commentary below). The fact that the element *zar* is in cuneiform syllabic script transliterated *zur* as well as, more commonly, *šar*,³ that similar hesitation appears in the transcription of other Hurrian names, and that the *tupšar* who wrote our tablet felt constrained to borrow a foreign character to render it with, would lead one to suspect that the Hurrian sibilant in question had no exact Semitic equivalent. A common denominator for \mathfrak{S} and \mathfrak{Z} would be \mathfrak{Z} ; and the equation $\mathfrak{X} = \mathfrak{Z}$ is hereby offered, with all reserve, as a working hypothesis.

A comparison of *trḡds* here with *trḡzz*, II—AB 8:2, immediately suggests that the complex *trḡ* is to be treated as a unit. It obviously corresponds to the Hurrian divine name *Tarḫu* of the cuneiform,

¹ *Tarbiz* IV, 380 below; *OLZ* 1933, 593 n. 1.

² B. HROZNÝ, *Archiv Orientální* IV, 118ff.

³ Thus the *awēlu* of Acre is called Šutatna, the son of Šarātum in EA 8, but Zatatna or Zitatna, the son of Zurata in EA 233, etc. On Zurata see WEBER *apud* KNUDTZON, *Die El-Amarna Tafeln*, 1301. So, too, we are inclined to identify the complex *yṣt*, in 1.5 of the tablet RS 1929, No. 7 (written in *scriptio continua*), which is referred to in the text (p. 255), with the proper name Yašdata, EA No. 248:3. On this name WEBER *apud* KNUDTZON, p. 1109 cites ED. MEYER, *Zschr. f. vgl. Sprachforschung* XLII, 18 to the effect that "Yašdata erinnere natürlich an die Komposita Yazata, yazd, sei also als Yazdadata aufzufassen." Cf. *Ta-a-du-ḫe-pa*, or *Ta-a-tum-ḫe-pa*, the name of Tušratta's daughter, and names like *Tadua*, etc. The Hurrian element *tat* means "love"; A. GUSTAVS, *RLV* VIII, p. 220. The element *yašda* also occurs in Zirdam-yašda EA 234, 26.

Trg of the hieroglyphic monuments. As the nearest thing to \bar{g} in Akkadian is h and in Egyptian g , this is not the only instance of its having been graphically represented in these respective ways: cf.

שנחר = cuneiform Šanḫar, Egyptian Śngr

עזה, غزّة, Ḡāḏa " Ḥazati, " Gdt

נש (ZKR inscr.) = " Nuḫašše, " Ngš⁴

תרעל (LXX ΘΑΛΓΑΛ < ΘΑΛΓΑΛ) = cuneiform Tudḫaliya. (In the case of this name we shall see below still further proof that its laryngal was originally \bar{g}).

The foregoing alone confirms BANETH's identification of the Ugaritic ~~𐎒~~ with Arabic غ⁵ in a most brilliant manner. In addition, as will be seen further on, the name of the divinity *Targē-* in all probability survives, like so many other traces of "the Ḥorite", in the south of Palestine; namely, in combination with the Hurrian suffix *-ti*, in the clan-name תרעתיים (LXX ΑΡΤΑΘΙΕΙΜ, in which the loss of the first Θ is due to haplography): and נ is the legitimate heir of \bar{g} in Hebrew.

The name *Trgzz* just cited, whether place-name or divine name, is from its context evidently connected with Môt. Accordingly it will not be surprising should it ever come to light that *Targu* occupied in Hurrian mythology a position analogous to that of Môt in the native Canaanite mythology.

7-11a. DHORME: "j'ai entendu que vraiment ils ont été emmenés. En eux, il n'y a pas de culpabilité, (pourtant) ils ont été emmenés. Donc renvoie-les près de moi". The grammatical, and even graphical, objections to this rendering are very great. In the first place, the emphatic infinitive absolute always ends in *u*, not *i*; e.g., ḫatâu, I-AB 2:23 (see below), ḡamâu ḡamîti, II-AB 4-5:34; ʾispa*i* sapâu, Syria XIII, 138 n. 1. In the second place, if

⁴ The identification of Nuḫašše with נש, the name of a territory in the ZKR inscription, which was proposed by DHORME, *RB* 1908, 503, and accepted by E. F. WEIDNER, *Boghazköi-Studien* VIII, 12 n. 3, commends itself all the more as interchange of *l* and *n* is not only rather common in Semitic (cf. C. BROCKELMANN, *Grundriss* I, 222f.; GESENIUS-BUHL, *Handwörterbuch*¹⁷, 370a), but can be proved for Hurrian as well; see WEIDNER, *op. cit.* VI, 77 n. 1; B. MAISLER, *Untersuchungen z. alten Gesch. Syriens u. Palästinas*, 12; E. A. SPEISER, *Mesopotamian Origins*, 94f.

⁵ D. H. BANETH, *OLZ* 1932, 705. This view was accepted by us without hesitation; cf. *Tarbiz* IV, 381; *OLZ* 1933, 593.

nḥtū were a perfect form it could only be *plural*, but DHORME, makes it refer to *two* individuals: the remarkable document ʔINY (= our siglum for ʔIlm Nʕmm w-Ysmm)⁶, however, teaches us that the dual of the verb was a living grammatical category in the language of Ugarit. In the third place, DHORME attributes to the n-form *nḥtū* a passive signification. This, however, the *niḫtal* had in Biblical Hebrew far less frequently than would appear from the Masoretic pointing,⁷ and in fact the passive of the simple conjugation is *ḫuṭila*—*yūḫṭalu* everywhere else in the Ras Shamra texts. In the fourth place, in Hebrew an infinitive of the simple conjugation *never* accompanies a finite verb of the n-conjugation, and other heterogeneous combinations of this sort are very rare and occur only under special conditions.⁸ By the side of these difficulties, the absence of any equivalent in the original for “que”, “pourtant” and “les” (in “renvoie-les”) is perhaps of less moment. One might also urge against DHORME’s assumption that ʔinmm = אִין מִם, the fact that in this document even *l* and *w* are marked off as separate words by vertical strokes; (note especially w | l |, l. 6); but we ourselves feel compelled to divide *kmtm*, l. 12 into *ka-môti-ma* (see below *ad loc.*).

Our own rendering assumes for *šmʕt* a meaning very close to some of those with which the root *šmʕ* is usually associated, and has the merit of ascribing a suitable function to the obvious genitive *ḥṭi*. *nḥtū* is taken as *naḥtāʔū*, infinitive absolute of the n-conjugation of *ḥṭ*. The inf. absol. is used as an imperative not only in Biblical Hebrew but in all probability in I-ʔAB 2:23 (see below) and II-ʔAB 4-5:35,⁹ and for the employment of the n-conjugation as a “middle voice”, cf. Hebrew נִשְׁאַל “to obtain permission for oneself”, נִאָּחַז “to make for oneself an אָחִיז”. The infinitive absolute is indeclinable, and accordingly instead of taking the objective suffixes it is followed by the inflected forms of *an* in Lev. 2⁶, Nu. 15⁸⁵, and by an inflected form of *ht* in our passage. (The latter recurs in I-ʔAB 1:11, where its function, however, is not very clear. Although VIROLLEAUD’s suggestion *ad loc.* that it

⁶ Syria XIV, Pl. XVII-XIX.

⁷ M. LAMBERT, *Rev. des Études Juives* XLI, 196-214; H. L. GINSBERG, *AJSL* XLVI, 52ff., 127ff.—supplemented and corrected *Tarbiz* V, 208-223.

⁸ GINSBERG, *opp. cit.*

⁹ see *Tarbiz* V, 84, *ad loc.*

may be miswritten for it , and in any case be an equivalent of Heb. הָיָה , seems improbable,¹⁰ we cannot help feeling that *hthm* in our passage has much the same force as Heb. אִתָּם or אִתָּם .) As in Hebrew, the object of more than one verb need not be named more than once; cf. Gen. 9²³; 18⁷; 24⁴⁰⁻⁴¹; 27⁴, 5, 9-10, 15.

inmm corresponds to Arab. أَيْنَمَا "wheresoever", or perhaps more accurately to أَيْنَمَا مَّا , which would mean "anywhere (at all)"; this is also given by BEZOLD¹¹ as the possible meaning of Akkadian *yānumma*. Cf. *mm* "whatsoever", l. 16.

my , of course, means not "près de moi", but "to me". In the epic texts m recurs with this and similar meanings so frequently that the fact was noted, and Heb. לִי and other parallels compared, by GINSBERG¹² immediately upon the publication of I-AB.

As regards the root hp , it would seem to have everywhere in these texts the meaning of "stop", "arrest", whence in Arabic "prevent"; but otherwise only slight changes in GINSBERG's previous interpretation¹³ of I-AB 2; 23-26; II-AB 8:20-24 are necessary. We accordingly now render these two passages as follows:

| | | | | | |
|----------------|---|---|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------|
| $\text{hp}u$ | hw | } | Stand still ¹⁴ , O | } | Gods' Torch Šapšu— |
| $\text{ihp}an$ | $nrt \text{ } \text{ilm} \text{ } \text{špš}$ | | Let her stand still, the | | |
| šhrrt | $ba \text{ } mm$ | | With glowing heat let the heavens blaze; | | |
| byd | bn | } | $\text{ilm} \text{ } mt$ | By the love (i. e., for the sake) | { Son · |
| | mdd | | | | |

11b-14. Our interpretation differs utterly from that of the *editio princeps*. The latter involves, among other things, construing yd "hand" as a masculine substantive, despite INY 33. (In l. 34 *ibid.*, ark behaves like all *perfects* which *precede* a feminine subject; cf. II-AB 2:28; 4-5:82,87. This principle of *genus pendens* does not seem to extend, as in Arabic, to the imperfect tense.) DHORME also assumes, here as in l. 16, a dual or plural pronominal suffix

¹⁰ One would rather incline to take it as a strengthening enclitic, as does perhaps BANETH, *OLZ* 1932, 450, who translates: „Es möge sich freuen Ašerat und ihr Sohn, u. s. w.“

¹¹ C. BEZOLD, *Babylonisch-Assyr. Glossar*, 2a.

¹² *Tarbiz* IV:1 (October 1932), 106-119 *ad loc.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, *ad loc.*; *q. v.* for the etymologies on which the present revised rendering is based.

¹⁴ Infinitive absolute as imperative, *ibid.*, p. 383 n. 8. We are reminded of Jos. 10^{12f.}

-m for -hm: this assumption is unwarranted. According to our rendering, the present correspondent, like the authors of the Tell el-ʿAmârna letters,¹⁵ quotes scripture to suit his purpose. The native

¹⁵ See ANTON JIRKU, 'Kanaʿanäische Psalmenfragmente i. d. vorisraelit. Zeit Palästinas u. Syriens,' *Journal of Bibl. Lit.*, LII (1933), 108-120. In the poetical texts of Ras Shamra we have actual specimens of the literature which all these citations presuppose. Their resemblance to passages in the poetical literature of the Old Testament is very impressive indeed. We recognise not only the characteristic *parallelismus membrorum* but also the rhythm based on a fixed number of word-stresses rather than syllables; the prevalent metre of the Ras Shamra poems being 3+3 (W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* 1932, 207 [23]), which is also very common in the O.T. More striking than either, however, are whole phrases and lines in these texts which agree almost verbatim with verses of the O.T. This resemblance is apparent even in JIRKU's retranslations of some of the quotations in the Tell el-ʿAmârna correspondence from Akkadian into German; in the case of the quotation in our letter, it is striking. Some of the most remarkable phrases and passages of this sort occurring in the poetic texts of Ras Shamra are:

A. In the published texts:

- 1) II-AB 1:4-7; 4-5:47-48: *lyšh ʾlrl ʾabh ʾilmk d yknnh* (He calleth unto Tōru-ʾilu his father, ʾilu-Malku that did create him)—cf. אֲבִיךָ ויִכְנֶנְךָ of Yahwe, Dt. 32⁶.
- 2) Ibid. 3:18; 4-5:122 *rkb ʾrpt* (the Cloud-Rider, epithet of the storm-god Baʿlu or Haddu)—cf. רֶכֶב (ב)עֲרֹבוֹת, of Yahwe, Ps. 68 (in which, as in the whole of Ps. 42-83, אֲרָהִים has, as is well known, been systematically substituted for יְהוָה).
- 3) Ibid., 4-5:35-38: *lhm hm štym; lhm bīlḥnt lhm, štym bkrpnm yn, bk(s) ḥrṣ dm ʿšm* (Eat now! drink! Eat of the tables bread, drink of the jars wine, from a golden cup the blood of trees.) Cf. Prov. 9⁵ (also 4¹⁷) and, for the final phrases, which recur several times in II-AB, Gen. 49¹¹.
- 4) IINY. 7: *lhm blhm ʾa(?)y wšty bḥmr yn ʾay*: Cf. the preceding.
- 5) Ibid. 14: *tḥ[ḥ]g d bḥlb, ʾa(?)nnḥ bḥmʾat* (cook a kid in milk, a lamb(?) in butter)—with VIROLLEAUD and DUSSAUD, contrast Ex. 23¹⁹; 34²⁶; Dt. 14²¹.
- 6) II-AB 4-5:42: *ʿm ʿlm ḥyt*; cf. 1 K. 1⁸¹; Neh. 2³; Dn. 2⁴, etc.

B. In passages quoted by VIROLLEAUD from unpublished texts:

- 1) Syria XII 355: *ʾl šmm šmn ʾarṣ* (the dew of heaven, the fat of the earth); cf. Gen. 27^{28, 29}.
- 2) Ibid., 357: *k tmḥṣ lln bīn brḥ, tkly bīn ʿkltn, šlyt d šbʿt rʾašm* (Surely thou shalt smite Leviathan, the elusive (?) serpent, thou shalt destroy the writhing (?) serpent, the accursed (?), the seven-headed); cf., with Virolleaud, Isa. 27¹ and Ps. 74¹⁴; further Job 26¹²⁻¹³.
- 3) Syria XIII, 130 n. 1: 135, n. 1: *ḫḫ ksp w yrḫ ḥrṣ* (take silver and yellow-glittering gold); cf. Ps. 68¹⁴.
- 4) Ibid., 127: la locution *drkt dt dr drk* "ta puissance qui (s'étend à) toutes les générations" se rencontre a côté de *mlk ʿlmk* "ton royaume

literature evidently included a prototype of Ct. 8:6, and the word $p = פה$ (and perhaps also ilm) was probably inserted into it by $\text{Ewiri\text{z}ar}$ in order to adapt it to the case in hand: it forms a natural antithesis to $\text{tmt} = שם$, l. 18.

The employment of yd as a masculine noun, and as the equivalent of אהבה in the parallel Ct. 8:6, is, after the publication of II \rightarrow AB 4-5:38-39, still another gratifying confirmation of GINSBERG's derivation of yd , in the passages quoted above, from ydd .

In $kmtm$ the ending $-m$ is probably, as in so many passages of II \rightarrow AB already pointed out by GINSBERG^{15a} *ad loc.*, and in a number of INY as well,¹⁶ the emphatic particle $-ma$ which is so familiar from Akkadian¹⁷, and from a few West Semitic proper names.¹⁸ Alternatively, but in our opinion less probably, the $-m$ of $mt-m$ may represent the plural masculine ending; cf. מותי Ezek. 28¹⁰, מותי Jer. 16⁴; Ezek. 28⁸.

d'éternité."—Of course, in the former of these phrases dt is simply the feminine of d in No. B. 2, and in the epithet $dp\text{il}$ which in I- and II \rightarrow AB is frequently attached to the names $L\text{t}\text{p}\text{n}$ and Tril (both of which designate the same individual, II). H. BAUER, *Das Alphabet von Ras Schamra u.s.w.* (September 1932), 70, and independently GINSBERG, *Tarbiz* IV Fasc. 1 (October 1932), 112 top, have pointed out that this d is used exactly like South Semitic $\text{d}\bar{u}$, fem. $\text{d}\bar{at}$. Accordingly, $drkt\ dt\ dr\ drk$ is to be rendered rather "thy government of all generations". In any case, what VIROLLEAUD describes in the above sentence is obviously an astonishing prototype of Ps. 145¹⁸; Dan. 3⁸³.

Except for A. 4 and B. 2, which, as has been indicated, were recognised by VIROLLEAUD, all the above parallels were first pointed out in the Hebrew articles of GINSBERG in *Tarbiz*. In *Tarbiz* IV, 385, GINSBERG further interpretes $\omega(y)\text{tn}\ k\text{lh}\ b\text{rpt}, \text{srh}\ \text{Dar}\text{š}\ b\text{rk}\text{m}$ II-AB 4-5:70-71 to mean "and he (Ba lu -Haddu) shall utter his voice (or thunder) in the clouds, flashing down lightning unto the earth", taking srh as the adverbial infinitive absolute of srh = common South Semitic (cf. esp. Ethiopic) srh "to flash" (cf. also srh and srk in various Semitic tongues). With this he compares, in an entirely analogous context: $\text{Job } 37^{8-4}$. $\text{תחת כל השמים וְשָׁרָה (ו) ואורו עַל כְּנֹפֹת הָאָרֶץ. אֲחֵרָיו יִשְׁאָג קוֹלִי יִרְעַם בְּקוֹל גְּאוֹנִי.}$ (It is well known that אור means "lightning" in the whole passage Jb. 36³⁰—37¹⁶.)

^{15a} Who was the first to recognize it, *Tarbiz* IV:4 (July 1933), 388.

¹⁶ These are commented upon in GINSBERG's "Notes on The Gracious and Beautiful Gods", which are appearing in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

¹⁷ *Tarbiz* IV, 388 ll. 27 ff.; V, 84 to II^{en} AB 4-5 35.

¹⁸ B. HROZNÝ, *Archiv Orientální* I (1929), 66. [Cf. also South Arabian $-m\bar{a}$ (both in ordinary words and in proper names) and $-m\bar{u}$; K. CONTI-ROSSINI, *Chrestomathia Arabica Meridionalis*, pp. 174a, 175b.]

m^{id}, to be read *mu'da*=מֹדָה (cf. lexica): an illustration of GINSBERG's thesis¹⁹ that the three Alephs of the Ras Shamra script only indicate the following, never the preceding, vowel, and that the sign transliterated *ʾi* is used both when the following vowel is *ʾi* and when it is zero.

ʾim we connect with the root אִים; cf. *ʾib*, II-AB 7:35, 38 from אִיב; and *nikp* we take as a *nkṭl* participle of *tkp*=Arab. *ṭkf*, "to overcome"; Aram. *tkp* "to be powerful" (with by-forms *tkp* and *tkb*). 15-19 *mʿnk* from *maʿnē*, "answer".—*mm*=Akk. *manāma*, *mēnumma* etc.; so also, with J. N. EPSTEIN (oral communication), מִנֵּם, Tabnit l. 5; Ešmunʿazar l. 5 (twice)—cf. Arab. *ḥa*, "anything". It is either in apposition to *rgm* or governs it in the genitive.

imt=שֵׁם (DHORME): the *t* may be identical with that of Phoen. הַמַּת,=Heb. הַם, הַמָּה—*w* | *št*=Heb. וְשָׁתָּה, perfect consecutive with imperative signification; cf. G. BERGSTRÄSSER, *Hebräische Grammatik* II, Para. 9 i. The language of Ugarit, however, also employs the second person of the perfect *without* "*w*" as an imperative, e.g., II-AB 3:30-31; and as an optative, e.g., *ibid.* 4-5:42.^{19a}—*my*, "to me"; cf. to 11a.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY

The name of the sender of our letter, *ʾiwr̥r̥r*, is pure Hurrian. It is identical with that of one of the kings of Kaṭna, which in Mesopotamian cuneiform is written syllabically E-wi-ri-šar-ri²⁰ and ideographically—EN-LUGAL.²¹

Šar(ri) figures very frequently as a component part of Hurrian names from Nuzi, Boghazköi and Syria. From a wealth of material, we select the following examples:

1. *From Nuzi*: Šar-tešup (also Šar-^dIM), Šar-tilla, Šarriya, Ar-šarri, Akip-šar, Arip-šar, Tehip-šar, Tešup-šar.

¹⁹ First propounded *Tarbiz* IV:4 (July 1933), 381-3.

^{19a} *Ibid.*, 387 top. We cannot help being reminded of the identical use of the Akkadian permansive in *RA* XIX, p. 100, l. 15; p. 105, l. 15; even though this tablet is a copy of a letter from the Pharaoh to a Canaanite prince.

²⁰ Instead of the reading E-pi-ri-šar-ri (so VIROLLEAUD), A. GUSTAVS, *Pal. Jahrb.* XXVI (1930), 10. n. 4 proposed E-wi-ri-šar-ri, rightly arguing that the sign PI has mostly the value *wi* in Hurrian texts.

²¹ CH. VIROLLEAUD, *Antiquity* III (1929), 315; *Syria* XI, 313, l. 44.

Further: *Irwi-šar*,²² probably a variant of *E-wi-ri-šar-ri*²³ = *iwṛṣr*.

2. *From Boghazköi*: Aḫli-šar, Anat-šar, Takip-šarri, Tašmi-šarri-wa, etc.²⁴

3. *From Syria*: Šarru (EA 162,68), Zura-šar (EA 319,4), and possibly ARAD-šar-ru-ma (Ta'annek, No. 7, Obv. 3) or ARAD-ša-ru-ma (No. 4, Rev. 6).²⁵

That this *šar* is Hurrian was recognised by E. F. WEIDNER²⁶ and A. GUSTAVS;²⁷ It means "king", as is especially evident from the ideographic spelling LUGAL in the Kaṭna and Boghazköi texts, and this meaning is no doubt connected with the Hurrian root *šar* "to command",²⁸ for the fact that, as we have seen, the initial sibilant is one peculiar to Hurrian speaks against a loan from the Akkadian.

Ew(i)r(i) is likewise a very common Hurrian word. It occurs in the letter of Tušratta—whose messenger, by the way, was called Tunip-*iwri* (EA 17:47)—in the form e-wi-ir-ni—in the Boghazköi texts, and at Nuzi.²⁹ The current view that it is synonymous with *šar* and means "king" can hardly be substantiated. It is true that in the Boghazköi texts it stands in parallel with *šar*, but it is not completely synonymous with it. We have seen above that the name *Ewiri-šar* is written ideographically EN. LUGAL; the latter means "king", but the former "lord". The name *iwṛṣr* = ewiri-šar therefore means much the same thing as Hebrew אֲדֹנִימֶלֶךְ, viz. "a Lord is the King".³⁰

Pisy, the name of the addressee, also seems to be Hurrian. It is apparently composed of two elements, of which the first is the Hurrian verb *pal* "to demand", which is often combined with

²² *Harvard Semitic Series* V 52, 2.

²³ Cf. E. A. SPEISER, *Mesopotamian Origins* (1930), 145 n. 90.

²⁴ The material has been classified by A. GÖTZE, *MVAeG* 38 (1933), 226ff.

²⁵ According to GÖTZE, *ibid.*, 258f., however, *šaruma* in these names represents the god Šarma, and is not connected with *šar*. The same element may be present in the tribe-name *Trmn*, RŠ 1929, 2:19 and in the place-name *Trmg*, II-AB 8:3; for *n* is a suffix frequently employed in tribe-names, whilst *g* is employed in place-names (cf. SPEISER, *Mes. Or.*, 154, n. 113).

²⁶ *Boghazköi-Studien* VIII, 13 n. 1.

²⁷ *ZA* N. F. II (1925), 298.

²⁸ F. BORK, *MVAG* XIV, 1-2 (1909), 126 (and already L. MESSERSCHMIDT, *ibid.*, 1899, Fasc. 4, 58).

²⁹ Materials in SPEISER, *op. cit.*, 145 n. 90; F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syria* XII, 254, n. 1.

³⁰ F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *ibid.*, 254-255.

a theophorous element to form proper names (e.g., Pal-Tešup "Tešup demands"),³¹ and the second the divine name *Siya*, *Siy*. These forms are known from the ẖaṭna texts (*Si-ya*),³² texts of the Kassite period (*si-ya-tum*),³³ and others.³⁴ The name Pal-siy(a) accordingly means "(the god) Siy(a) requires". In our opinion, it is the same name as the Ba-al-zi-i occurring in a cuneiform tablet found at Shechem; FR. BÖHL, *ZDPV* 1926, p. 322: No. 1, l. 3. BÖHL states *ibid.*, p. 324, that he was unable to find any analogy to it.^{34a}

The third name in our document, *Trḡds*, is, as we have seen, undoubtedly composed of an element *trḡ* and an element *ds*. The former is practically certainly to be identified with the Anatolian and Hurrian god Tarḡu (or Tarku),³⁵ who was, of course, worshipped far and wide in Anterior Asia.³⁶ It is sufficient to recall a few names like Tarḡunazi, Tarḡundaraba, and Tarḡulana from the Kassite Period³⁷ and the numerous Asianic names compounded with the element *Tarḡu-*, *Tarku-*.³⁸ Tarḡu would seem to have been indigenous in the first place in Arzawa (Cilicia). A king of Arzawa in the age of Tell el-ʿAmârna is called Tarḡundaraba (EA 31,2). The Etruscan clan-names *Tarchon* and *Tarquinius* are apparently likewise connected with the *Tarḡu*-names of Asia Minor.³⁹

The hieroglyphic equivalent of the Mesopotamian cuneiform *Tarḡu* is *Trg*; cf. the two Hittite names *Trgtis* and *Trgnns*.⁴⁰ That

³¹ C. J. GADD, *RA* XXIII (1926), 73; SPEISER, *JAOS* 1933, 31.

³² CH. VIROLLEAUD, *SYRIA* VIII, 293, l. 11.

³³ A. T. CLAY, *Personal Names from Cuneif. Inscr. of the Kassite Period*, 123.

³⁴ See especially A. GUSTAVS, *Pal-Jahrb.* XXVI (1930), 8.

^{34a} The character transcribed *zi* is rather peculiar, but seems to be assured by the following *i*.

³⁵ On the spellings *Tarḡu* and *Tarku*, see E. A. SPEISER, *Mesop. Or.*, 142f.

³⁶ See especially C. AUTRAN, *Tarkondemos* (1922), *passim*; G. CONTENAU, *Les tablettes de Kerkouk* (1926), 21ff.

³⁷ CLAY, *op. cit.*, 137, 204.

³⁸ See J. SUNDWALL, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier* (1913), 213ff.; AUTRAN, *op. cit.*, 36ff.

³⁹ B. HERBIG, *Kleinasiat.-etrusk. Namengleichungen*, 20f.; B. HROZNÝ, *ZA* N.F. IV (1929), 175.

⁴⁰ BURCHARDT, *Altkanan. Fremdworte und Eigennamen im Ägyptischen* II, No. 1118-9; W. WRESZINSKI, *Atlas* II, 101, Nos. 3, 14 on which cf. WRESZINSKI, *OLZ* 1931, Col. 1009 ff.; A. REUBENI, *PEF*, Q.S. 1932, 104ff. REUBENI rightly sees

the foreign sound which the cuneiform syllabary endeavours to approximate by means of *ḫ* and the hieroglyphic script by *g* is *ḡ*, was demonstrated above.

The other component of our name possibly corresponds to the element *taš* (= *taše*, "offering"?)⁴¹ which figures in cuneiform representations of Hurrian and Asianic proper names (e. g. at Nuzi and in the Kassite sphere), such as Ar-taš(še), Tešup-taš(ša), Tašši, etc.,⁴² and—in the form of *d/taš/s*—as a suffix of proper names in the Boghazköi texts.⁴³

Several Asianic proper names are compounded of a theophorous element + *daš/s*; e. g. *Δασταζων*, which is probably our *Tarḡu-das* with the positions of the component parts reversed.⁴⁴

The place-name *Trḡzz*, II-AB 8:2⁴⁵ is also thoroughly Hurrian. Not only, as we have seen, the first element, *Trḡ* = (Tarḫu), but also the second one, *zz*, has several excellent Hurrian parallels. The Nuzi-tablets offer Zi-iz-za,⁴⁶ Zizziḫarpa^{46a} and probably Zu-u-zu⁴⁷ and the Boghazköi texts contain some similar names.⁴⁸ An element *zaza* also occurs in Anatolian names.^{48a}

in Trgnns the name Tarḫu-nana(š). The name or name-constituent Nana(š) can be illustrated not only from Nuzi (Nania, Nana, Nan-tešup, etc.) but also from Boghazköi; e. g. Nannaš (KUB XI, 33), Naniyaš (KUB XIII 34, IV, 19).—With the hieroglyphic Trgtš, REUBENI combines the cuneiform Tarḫu-dattaš. This identification, however, seems uncertain. Perhaps one should rather compare the cuneiform Tarḫu-taš or our Trḡ-ds. Whether the spelling *ds* (=tt) instead of *dš* is to be ascribed to Asianic (Luvian? cf. W. F. ALBRIGHT, *BASOR* No. 50, p. 19) influence cannot be decided.

⁴¹ On *taše* see F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syria* XII, 255.

⁴² G. CONTENAU, *Les tablettes de Kerkouk*, 133; GADD, *RA* XIII (1926), 73; E. A. SPEISER, *JAOS* 1933, 31. Cf. further the place-name *Tt* in K. SETHE, *Urk. d. äg. Allertums* IV, 791, 229, also the names *Da-ša* (EA 53, 58) *Ta-aš-šu*, (56, 16) and *Biridašwa* (119,41 and often).

⁴³ See GÖTZE, *MVAeG* 32,1 (1927), 40f.

⁴⁴ SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, 215.

⁴⁵ *Trḡzz* occurs in this passage as the name of a *ḡr*, "valley". Similarly *Hḫ*, *ibid.* l. 13, is located by J. A. MONTGOMERY, *JAOS* 1933, 284, in the mountains of Tūr 'Abdīn, and by MAISLER, in "Observations on the Ugarit Tablets", *Tarbiz* V, 380, in the neighbourhood of Ugarit.

⁴⁶ *Harvard Semitic Series* V, 54,12.

^{46a} SPEISER, *JAOS* 47 (1927), 54 No. 17.

⁴⁷ C. J. GADD, *RA* XXIII, 83.

⁴⁸ E. g. *Zazuwaš*, KUB VIII 76, II 7,10. Cf. GÖTZE, *MVAeG* 32,1 (1927), 41.

^{48a} See SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, 248f.

In such a context, the remaining name of our letter—*Klby*—is at once stigmatised as Hurrian by its final *y*; for *iya* is a typical termination of Hurrian proper names. In the Ras Shamra texts themselves (of 1929) the apparently Hurrian god-name *Pdr* has a variant *Pdry*, and the certainly Hurrian *Išhar* of other sources figures here as *ʾUšhry*, RS 1929, 1:13 (without this *-y*, but with the Hurrian dative ending *-d*, in the Hurrian text, Syria XII, p. 389, l. 5).

The ending *-iya* is especially common in hypocoristica in Hurrian districts; e.g. 1) at Nuzi: Aḥliya, Ariya, Hašiya, Huttiya, Šarruya, Uziya etc.; 2) in the El-Amarna tablets: Akiya, Biridiya, Wašuya, Labaya, Šarriya etc.; 3) in the Taʿannek tablets: Akiya, Dakiya; 4) in the Kaṭna-tablets: Akiya, Dakiya, Huttiya; 5) in Egyptian texts: *ʾgy* = Akiya, and the place-names *Ny* = Niya etc.

Most of these names consist of either a substantive or a verb with the hypocoristic ending (*i*)*ya*.

The name *Klby* is probably formed from the well-known Hurrian verb *kul*, “to say, or speak”, with which names of persons are frequently compounded (e.g. Kul-i-Tešup, “Tešup speaks”). The suffix *ib* serves as the exponent of the Desiderative Stem of the Hurrian verb⁴⁹ and also constitutes an element in proper names.⁵⁰ Many Hurrian names contain it: e.g., Hut-ib-tilla, Ak-ib-tilla, Ar-ib-šar, Teḥ-ib-šar, Gil-ib-šar, etc.⁵¹ The name *Klby* is accordingly to be vocalized something like *Kul-ib-(i)ya*.

Thus all four of the proper names contained in our text—*ʾIwrzr*, *Plsy*, *Trḡds*, *Klby*—are of purely Hurrian origin. The fact that bearers of Hurrian names employ a Northwest Semitic speech is in no way remarkable, being paralleled elsewhere in Phoenicia, Syria and Palestine about the middle of the second millennium B.C., and especially in the Tell el-Amarna Period. It is a consequence of the great displacements of population in Syria and Palestine which are most strikingly reflected by the emergence of the name *Hr* for the whole of this region in the New Empire. The wave of Hurrian peoples that swept from Mesopotamia in the first half of the second millennium constituted the dominant element of North and Central Syria, but also had outposts in Phoenicia and in

⁴⁹ F. BORK, *MVAG* XIV, 1-2, 54.

⁵⁰ Cf. SPEISER, *Mesop. Or.*, 142.

⁵¹ For numerous further examples see C. J. GADD, *RA* XXIII, 71ff.

Palestine, reaching down to their southernmost extremities. This stratum of the population became assimilated to the indigenous "Canaanites" and later to the Israelitish invaders, but not without impressing a number of permanent characteristics upon the culture of these countries.⁵² However, this process was not yet completed in the middle of the second millenium. In the period of the Tell el-ʿAmârna tablets there still subsisted in Phoenicia and Palestine, by the side of the main West Semitic stock mixed with Hurrian blood, an independent Hurrian stratum, which spoke a Hurrian tongue and bore the name of "Hurri".

The ethnic situation thus roughly outlined is reflected vividly in the epigraphic harvests of successive French excavations at Ras Shamra. It may now be regarded as certain that the population of Ugarit in the Tell el-ʿAmârna period was mainly "Canaanite"-speaking; but the presence of a large Hurrian contingent is attested not only by the considerable number of Hurrian proper names occurring in both religious and profane documents,⁵³ but above all by four inscriptions (RŠ 1929, Nos. 4, 7, and 28^{53a} and the fragment in Syria

⁵² On the pre-Israelitish ethnography of Syria and Palestine, see especially B. MAISLER, *Untersuchungen zur alten Gesch. Syr. und Pal.* I, 36ff., and now E. A. SPEISER, *AASOR* XIII (1933), 16ff.

⁵³ Note particularly in the Akkadian document Syria IX (1929), Pl. LXXVI, No. 1, l. 1: *A-ki-ḫi-in-ni*, a typically Hurrian name (VIROLLEAUD, *ibid.*, 304). The Hurrian element *ak*, *ag* is of course common in names from Boghazköi, Nuzi, Tell el-ʿAmârna, Kaṭna, Taʿannek (A. GUSTAVS, *Pal.-Jahrb.* 1930, 7), and probably also occurs in the O. T., viz., in נִכְמֶז, 2 Sam. 23¹¹ (MAISLER, *Tarbiz* III, 188 n. 38). The name Nḫmd, RŠ 1929, 2:20; II-ʾAB 8:margin, is evidently identical with Niḫmeaz in the Akkadian document of Ras Shamra reported on by VIROLLEAUD to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres at its session of Dec. 2, 1933. So vocalized it resembles the Hurrian name Nikmia (GADD, *ibid.*, 79) so closely that the conclusion that it too is Hurrian is inescapable. (Incidentally, this transcription would constitute proof positive that the Ugaritic character *d*, which represents proto-Semitic *d̲* as well as Proto-Semitic *d*, was in fact also pronounced *d̲*; and, if the name is in fact Hurrian, that not only the "Canaanite" but also the Hurrian speech of this place and time distinguished both *d-d̲-z* and *t-t̲-z* [Hurrian also *ž*].) The other name in the document in question, *Ibira*, is perhaps to be read *Iwira*, with which word we are by now familiar. The statements in the report of the Académie's session with regard to the position of Niḫmeaz and *Ibira* are not clear. Seeing that the document in question is, like ours, in the nature of an order of arrest, it is tempting to speculate whether *Ibira* (i. e., *Iwira*) may not be identical with our ʾIwiriṣar.

^{53a} Cf. ʾ*iwrn*, Rev. l. 9, = *ewirni* (v. s. p. 251), VIROLLEAUD, *Syria*, XV, 83.

XII, 286) in the Hurrian language, and some vocabularies of cuneiform ideograms explained in syllabically spelt Hurrian.⁵⁴ Moreover, the still largely enigmatic Semitic document RŠ 1929, No. 2, is at least intelligible enough to leave no doubt but that the word *hry*, 11, 12, 21, 29 corresponds exactly to the Biblical חרי (LXX: *Xoggaios*), Eg. *Hr* and Akkad. *Hurri*.⁵⁵

A realisation of the numerical strength and wide distribution of the Hurrians throughout Syria and Palestine at the time of the Ras Shamra and Tell el-Amarna tablets (15th and 14th centuries B.C.) is of the utmost importance for an understanding of ethnic conditions in Palestine at the time of the Hebrew settlement.

It is a commonplace that the Old Testament consistently speaks of a group of "Horite" tribes as the pre-Edomite inhabitants of Mount Se'ir. ED. MEYER,⁵⁶ and even before him W. M. MÜLLER,⁵⁷ propounded the theory that these Horites were connected with *Hr*, the Egyptian designation for Syria-Palestine. H. WINCKLER,⁵⁸ on the other hand, endeavoured to bring them into relationship with the Hurri of the cuneiform sources.

Another solution was sought by MAISLER,⁵⁹ who, while establishing the identity of the *Hr* of the hieroglyphic records with the Hurri of the cuneiform ones, denied any connection of either with the Horites of the Old Testament on the ground alleged by ED. MEYER, viz., that the Horites were a Semitic people. This view, however, he gave up a few years ago, having convinced himself that the names of the Horite clans listed in Gen. 36 prove after much research to be for the most part genuinely Hurrian.⁶⁰ Following MAISLER, A. REUBENI has attempted to work up the material systematically, and has attained some very interesting results.⁶¹

We shall undertake a new treatment of the problem here.

Of the names enumerated in Gen. 36^{20ff.}, the following are demonstrably Hurrian:

⁵⁴ Ed. F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syria* XII (1931), 234 ff; the Hurrian words and their meanings have been collected by H. BAUER, *OLZ* 1934, Col. 244.

⁵⁵ Cf. J. FRIEDRICH, *AfO* VIII, 239; E. A. SPEISER, *AASOR* XIII, 19.

⁵⁶ *Israel und seine Nachbarstämme*, 329ff; *Gesch. d. Altertums* I, 2³, 467.

⁵⁷ *Asien und Europa*, 155f.

⁵⁸ *Geschichte* II, 1, 6.

⁵⁹ *Untersuchungen* I, 34 n. 4.

⁶⁰ MAISLER, *apud* A. REUBENI, *Shem, Ham and Japhet* (1932), 137 and n. 2.— This was overlooked by E. A. SPEISER, *AASOR* XIII, 29 n. 63. ⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 137ff.

1. שׁוּבֵל. This name is attested as both Hurrian and Asianic. In the form Šabil(iš) it is known as the name of the sixth king of the realm of Amurru, the son of Bentešina and grandson of Tuppi-Tešup (KBo I, No. 8), and in the form Ša-bi-lu as that of another person (EA 62,26). Šabila is a Hurrian place-name in Mesopotamia mentioned by Tukulti-Ninurta I (Keilschrifttexte aus Assur hist. Inhalts (KAHI) II, No. 60, l. 82). In Asia Minor it is recorded in the form Σαβαλος.⁶² It is possibly related to Šible, the name of the Circassian god of thunder.⁶³

2. דִּישֵׁן (LXX: Ἀἰσων, Δαῖσων). This word was rightly identified by CHIERA and SPEISER⁶⁴ with the Hurrian name Taišenni. The latter, in turn, is compounded of an element *Ta-i* (also written *Ta-e*, *Te*) and *šen(n)i*, "brother".

3. שִׁפּוֹ (LXX: Σωφ, Σοφαν) is probably connected with the Hurrian and Hittite word *šu/apa* which enters into the composition of Hurrian names like Šupurni, and probably also into that of the well known Hittite name Šuppiluliuma.⁶⁵ Compare further the Hurrian place-name Šuppâ in an inscription of Aššurdân II.⁶⁶

4. אַרְנִי. The element *arna/i*⁶⁷ is attested in numerous Hurrian and Asianic names; e. g., Ari(-ib)-arni/a, Arnu-urḫi, etc., at Nuzi; Lubarna, Šutarna, Arnuanta in Ḫatti; and—but from other routs—Arana,⁶⁸ Arinni,⁶⁹ names of places in Mesopotamia.

5. אֵיָה. The god Aya, stated to be Hurrian in Boghazköi 3022. III, ll. 3, 10, was borrowed by the Hittites as Ayaš.⁷⁰ That the Edomites still knew this god as such towards the end of the eighth pre-Christian century is proved by the cuneiform notation of the name of their king ^d*A-a-ram-mu*, Sennach. Prism, Col. II, l. 57; cf. E. EBELING, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* I, p. 3.

6. תַּמְנַע (LXX: Ταμνα). Cf. the Hurrian place-name Tamnauš, mentioned in an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta I together with Arini and Šabila.⁷¹

7. עֲנָה may also be of Hurrian origin. It is reminiscent of the Hurrian personal names Ḫanaya, Ḫania etc. in the Nuzi

⁶² Cf. CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 137. ⁶³ RLV VI, 257. ⁶⁴ AASOR VI, 81.

⁶⁵ Cf. CONTENAU, *loc. cit.* ⁶⁶ E. F. WEIDNER, *Afo* III, 151ff., ll. 19–20.

⁶⁷ Cf. CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 133; SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, 55.

⁶⁸ P. ROST, *Tiglatpileser*, 46.

⁶⁹ KAH I, No. 60, l. 78.

⁷⁰ E. FORRER, *RLA* I, 2.

⁷¹ KAH I, No. 60, l. 78.

texts,⁷² of the Hittite element Ḫani,⁷³ and of the name of the territory Ḫanigalbat (= Mesopotamia).

8. ערין (ערוה) and ערין are certainly Hurrian. For both show the typical Hurrian suffix *-wan*,⁷⁴ and in addition the first element in the former is obviously the *hal* of numerous Nuzi names such as *Hal-šenni*, *Ibša-halu*, etc.⁷⁵ in the Kassite name *Meli-hala* and in the Hittite name *Tudḫaliya* = תדעל. We have already seen (from the transcription of the LXX) that the ע of the latter represents an older *ḡ*, and this is confirmed by the LXX transcriptions Γωλον, Γωλωμ, Γωλαμ for ערין and Γωλα for ערוה, and is further strengthened by the fact that in Asianic names it is represented—like the *ḡ* of *Tarḡu*—by *k*; e.g. *Κυλλας*.⁷⁶

With regard to the name כרן it is difficult to decide whether it too may not be Hurrian. It is perhaps to be compared with *Ku-ur-ra* in the Nuzi texts, and with *Ku-ra-an-gi*.⁷⁷

The Ḫorites of Mt. Še'ir were overlaid by an Edomite stratum, and thus there gradually arose in this district a mixed population whose special character appears from the genealogical tables of the books of Genesis and Chronicles.

The thirty-sixth chapter of Genesis speaks several times of matrimonial alliances contracted by "Esau" and his "sons" with Ḫorites, particularly with the families of 'Anah, Ṭimna' and Oholibamah. Moreover, some of the Edomite clans (Gen. 36⁴⁰ ff.) either themselves bear Ḫorite names or are closely related to others that do; particularly the families of תמנע (cf. תמנע, v. 22), ערוה (cf. ערין, v. 23), אהליבמה (cf. אהליבמה vs. 26) and קנו.

The *a* of the latter name is, as the gentilic Ḳenizzi shows, secondarily developed, in accordance with PHILIPPI's LAW, from *i*. But as the ending *-izzi* (also *-izzu*, *-izza*) is one of the commonest features of Hurrian personal, local and tribal names,⁷⁸ it is perhaps also present in אֵלִיפַז-Elīpaz, the name of Ḳenaz's father, and the resemblance of the former to so many Semitic names beginning

⁷² C. J. GADD, *op. cit.*, 75f; CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 135. ⁷³ CONTENAU, *ibid.*

⁷⁴ Cf. E. FORRER, *ZDMG* N. F. I, 226; also the observation of F. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Syria*, XII, 256ff., on the ending *wi-na*. ⁷⁵ C. J. GADD, *op. cit.*, 75f.

⁷⁶ SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, 121; CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 135.

⁷⁷ GADD, *op. cit.*, 77; CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 136.

⁷⁸ E. A. SPEISER, *Mes. Or.*, 141 S.; A. REUBENI, *Shem, Ham and Japhet*, 146.

with אֶל־י may only have arisen secondarily under their influence, unless it is altogether fortuitous. Similarly the name of the pre-Israelitish nation, תִּרְזִי—the Perizzite—is identical with the name of the Mitannian Pirizzi of EA 27, 28, 29.⁷⁹

The first element in the name of Kēnaz, which must also be Hurrian, may be connected with such names as Kani, Kānai etc. in the Nuzi texts.⁸⁰

A remarkable feature shared in common by the two strongly Hurrian populations, at opposite corners of Syria-Palestine, of which we have been speaking is the designation *ulp* = אֶל־ for “clan” or “nation” (Lat. “gens”). The lists of peoples in RS 1929, 2:11–13, 20–22, 28–30, each preceded by *ulp*, suggest those of Gen. 36^{15–22, 29–30, 40–43}; 1 Chr. 1^{51–54} so strongly that HROZNÝ, in his edition of this text⁸¹ did not hesitate to identify the *ulp* of the former with the אֶל־ of the latter. Though GINSBERG⁸² at first rejected this view on account of the undoubted occurrence of a proclitic *u* (interpreted as such by HROZNÝ himself) in the same text, it is manifestly right in the light of the foregoing. The Ugaritic vowel-sequence *u—u* (pullûpu) would seem to be more original than the Hebrew one of *a—u* both in this word, in *urbt* = אֶרֶב and in *u^{hr}(y)* = אֶשְׁחֹר (v.s.); for the difference between *ulmn* (יִנְי, 9) and אֶמְנוֹן is probably to be explained, with ALBRIGHT,^{82a} as follows: *ulmân* > *ulmôn* > *almôn* (dissimilation of *u* before another back vowel).

The fact that families are only designated by this word in communities with such strong Hurrian contingents (note especially Ex. 15¹⁵)⁸³ suggests that it may have linguistically nothing whatever to do with Heb. אֶל־ (unless it be a Hurrian adaptation of it), and that it may rather be identical with the first element of the name אֶל־י, which we have surmised may be non-Semitic.

⁷⁹ F. BÖHL, *Kanaanäer und Hebräer*, 66; W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* II (1922), 128; A. REUBENI, *op. cit.*, 175.

⁸⁰ GADD, *RA* XXIII, 79. ⁸¹ B. HROZNÝ, *Archiv Orientální* IV, 169–178.

⁸² *Tarbiz* IV, 381, n. 4.

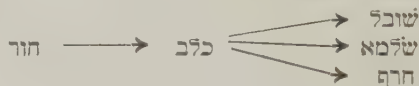
^{82a} *JPOS* 1934, p. 133 n. 172a (cf. *Archiv f. Orientforschung* VII, 168).

⁸³ In Zach. 9⁷; 12^{5,6}, the defective spelling, which would be very exceptional for the word אֶל־י, points rather to אֶל־י, אֶל־י; cf. Mi. 5¹. Even if we suppose the vocalisation to be right, however, it does not greatly invalidate our argument, because, as we shall presently see, Judah, with which the word is connected in these passages, also had a very large infusion of Hurrian blood.

In his basic work *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*,⁸⁴ Ed. MEYER first propounded the theory that the Ḥorites were not confined to Mt. Še'ir and the wilderness of Edom. In effect the חורי is in all probability mentioned as a nation of Palestine proper in a few passages that have been garbled in the Masoretic text of the O. T., particularly in Isa. 17⁹, where החרי והאמרי is no doubt to be restored for the חרש והאמרי of M.T.⁸⁵ Much more important, however, is MEYER's observation that a stratum of population related to the Ḥorites of Mt. Še'ir is incorporated in the Israelite tribe of Dan. Latterly, B. MAISLER and A. REUBENI have succeeded in proving that the Ḥorites, so far from being confined to small enclaves, constituted an important racial element throughout the south of Palestine.⁸⁶ This inquiry too we propose to pursue further.

The lists in Gen. 36^{20ff.} name five Ḥurrian tribes whose eponyms are Loṭan, Šobal, Šib'on, 'Anah and Dišon. The most important was no doubt Šobal, embracing as it did five clans, namely 'Alwan, Manaḥat, 'Ebal, Šepo and 'Onam. Now, Ed. MEYER has already pointed out that this tribe is represented on Judean soil.

In I Chr. 2⁵⁰ ff. we find the following pedigree:



Šobal, "the father of Qiryat Ye'arim", is thus expressly traced back through Kaleb to Ḥur (and how Ḥoritic Kaleb in fact was we shall see presently). At the same time he is made the ancestor of "a half of the Manaḥtites" and of a number of families of Qiryat Ye'arim, to which the inhabitants of Šor'ah and Ešta'ol also traced their descent. It is quite impossible to dissociate this "half of the Manaḥtites" in the territory of Dan, whose eponym was Šobal the Ḥurite, from the Manaḥtites of Mt. Še'ir whose *heros eponymos* was Šobal the Ḥorite;^{86a} and consequently the population of the district around Qiryat Ye'arim, Šor'ah and Ešta'ol must be regarded as of very much the same essentially Ḥurrian stock as that of Mt. Še'ir.

All this is, of course, perfectly compatible with WELLHAUSEN's suggestion that Manoaḥ the father of Šimšon, of Šor'ah, is simply

⁸⁴ *IN*, p. 328ff.; *GA* I, 2³, Para. 467.

⁸⁵ See MEYER, *ibid.*; SPEISER *AASOR* XIII, 27ff.

⁸⁶ *Shem, Ham and Japhet*, 137ff.

^{86a} This and the following conclusions are warranted even if—in view of the Septuagint's treatment of the two *hels* as *h* and *h̄* respectively—the resemblance between "Hur" and "Ḥorite" be discounted as secondary.

the *heros eponymos* of these Manahtites.⁸⁷ It is also not improbable that Bilhah, the concubine of Jacob to whom the Danites traced their descent, stands in the same relation to the Horite sept of Bilhan, Gen. 36²⁷, as the Esau-Edomite tribe of Alwah, *ibid.* v. 40, to the Še'ir-Horite one of Alwan, *vs.* 23.

Since the Danites, after the developments recorded in Ju. 18, only retained their tribal identity in the extreme north of Palestine, the Israelitised Šobalites, or those of them that had not participated in this migration, are known to the Chronicler, 1 Chr. 4¹ only as a sept of the tribe of Judah. This is true of the whole family of Kaleb, of which the Šobalites of South Palestine were a subdivision. The older tradition is still conscious of the originally non-Israelitish character of כלב (also called כְּלוּבִי, 1 Chron. 2⁹ and כְּלוּב, *ibid.*, 4¹¹); for although the Chronicler traces his ancestry back to Judah, he also (1 Chr. 4¹⁵), as do the older sources almost regularly (cf. Nu. 32¹²; Jos. 15¹⁷, etc.), connects him with Kēnaz. It was, moreover, not forgotten that in the patriarchal age the Kēnizzite had already existed as an independent "people" in Southern Palestine (Gen. 15¹⁹), and a section of this family constituted one of the most important tribes in the Edomite League (*v. s.*). Of the Hurrian aspect of this "Kēnaz, Kēnizzite", we have already spoken, and therefore we are not surprised to find "H̄ur" figuring as an ancestor of Kaleb in the genealogical table reproduced above. In 1 Chr. 2¹⁸⁻²⁰, on the other hand, Kaleb is made instead a son of Hešron and an ancestor of "H̄ur", the grandfather of Bešal'el.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ J. WELLHAUSEN in BLEEK, *Einleitung in d. A. T.*⁴, 197.

⁸⁸ On אורי, the connecting link between Hur and Bešal'el, see A. GUSTAVS, *ZAW* 1913, 201ff.

Immediately after *yẓit* (*v. s. n. 3*), the tablet RŠ 1929:2 has the complex *bšltt*, which, it is reasonable to surmise, may be a proper name of similar formation; may not, then the name of a person with such affinities as those of Bešal'el contain the first element of this name rather than constitute an analogy to Akk. Ina-šilli-Bêl and the late בסוריה, Neh. 3⁶? Among the names of the temple-slaves (בְּתִינִים), who might be supposed *a priori* to have been of non-Israelite origin—cf. also Joshua Ch. 9—we find בצלוח (Ezr. 2⁵²), or בצליו (Neh. 7⁵⁴). Similarly יעלה, or יעלא—Ezr. 2⁵⁶; Neh. 7⁵⁸—the name of a family of בני עבדי שלמה, may well be compared, with A. REUBENI, *Shem, Ham and Japhet*, p. 141, to יעלם, the name of a son of Esau, Gen. 36^{5,14,18}; 1 Chr. 1³⁵. Both these castes betray their alien, and no doubt mixed, origin by many another strange-looking name; a study of which, however, would take us too far afield.

The Kalibbites and Ẕenizzites are an important element in the old population of Southern Palestine. They are strongest in the wide circuit of Hebron and Debir, and among the Yerahme'elites and Ẕenites dwelling in the Negeb. (Cf. especially 1. Chr. 2⁴² ff.; 4¹¹ ff.; 1 Sam. 25²; 30¹⁴.)

It is significant that not only "Ẕenaz" but "Kaleb" as well has every appearance of being a Hurrian name. The forms כָּלֵב, כְּלֹיב and כְּלוּבִי are all different from that of the Common Semitic word *kalbu*, "dog". On the other hand, we have already seen that there existed a Hurrian name *Klby*.

The genealogical table reproduced further back shows as the next son of Kaleb—after Šobal, "the father of Ẕiryat Ye'arim, etc."—Šalma, "the father of Bethlehem". From him are said to be descended the dwellers of Bethlehem, Neṭopah and עטרות בית יואב, "the (other) half of the Manaḥtite" at Šor'ah, and "families of scribes" by the name of תרעתים, שומעתיים, שוכתיים, "they are the Ẕenites that came from Hammat, the father of Bet-Rekab" (1 Chron. 2⁵⁰ ff.). These descendants of Šalma—a son of Kaleb and a brother of Šobal—can be proved independently of all these circumstances to have had a good deal of Hurrian blood in their veins. For, firstly, 1 Chr. 4⁴ again brings the Bethlehemites, in somewhat obscure terms it is true, into contact with Hur. Secondly, עטרות is certainly connected with עטרה "the other wife of Yerahme'el", "the mother" of Onam (1 Chr. 2²⁶); but this Onam cannot be separated from Onam, "the son" of Šobal the Horite of Mt. Še'ir (Gen. 36²³). Thirdly, the Manaḥtites, we have already seen, are certainly connected with the Manaḥtites of Edom. Lastly, the תרעתים, שומעתיים, שוכתיים, betray their Hurrian origin not only by their sterling Hurrian termination *-ti*, which is almost a characteristic of Hurrian names of localities and peoples,⁸⁹ but by the fact that the root of תרעתים (LXX: ΑΡΤΑΘΙΕΙΜ, corrupted by haplography from ΘΑΡΤΑΘΙΕΙΜ) is, as we have already seen, the Hurrian divine name *Tarḡ*.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ Cf. SPEISER, *op. cit.*, 143.

⁹⁰ Whether the name שרמא (cf. the spelling שרמה, Ruth. 4²⁰; שרמון, *ibid.* 4²¹) is also Hurrian, is doubtful. It may possibly be connected with the Hurrian element Ša/filma; cf. the names Šil-ma-a-hu, Šil-mi-Tešup, Šil-mi-til-la, Šil-mi-ia etc., in Nuzi and Boghazköi texts; see CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 237 ff., and Σαλμανις, Σαλμενος etc. (SUNDWALL, *op. cit.*, 194).—For שרמון in particular, cf. the divine

Moreover, these three families are described as the *Kenites* who came from *Hammat*, the father of the House of *Rekab*, and "the *Kenite*" is known to have been on the one hand like the *Kenizzite* a pre-Israelite people of Palestine (Gen. 15¹⁹), on the other to have been later scattered through Galilee and Samaria as well as Judea,⁹¹ and lastly, again like the *Kenizzite* and the *Kalibbite*, to have been an ally of the Israelites in the period of the Judges (Ju. 4-5).^{91a}

We have already seen that one tradition (1 Chron. 2^{9ff.}) made *Kaleb* (כָּלֵב, כְּלֹב, כְּלוּבִי) a son of *Hešron* (but nevertheless the ancestor of a "Hur"). This is not the only family of Hurrian nomenclature which was eventually subordinated to the Yehudite sept of *Hešron*. Another "son" of *Hešron* was (v. 24) אֶשְׁחֹר, a name which, as we have seen, corresponds exactly, in accordance with the sound laws, to the Hurrian *ušḫr(y)*.⁹² Moreover, the "firstborn" of *Hešron*, was not *Kaleb* but *Yerahme'el*, 1. Chron. 2²⁵. In vs. 9 *ibid.* *Yerahme'el* also takes precedence to כְּלוּבִי in the order of *Hešron*'s sons, and in vs. 42 *Kaleb* is identified as "the brother of *Yerahme'el*". And we have already seen that the name עַטְרוּת among the families descended of *Salma* the "son" of *Kaleb* links this tribe up with *Yerahme'el* through עַטְרָה, the "concubine" of *Yerahme'el*, who was the "mother" of the *Horite* *Onam*. The names of the latter's "descendants" אַחֲרָי, שֶׁשֶׁן, פַּלֵּת and זִוָּא all look very Hurrian.

1. אַחֲרָי is probably connected with the element *ahli* in many names from Nuzi and Boghazköi (e. g. *Ahli-Tešup*, *Ahli-ib-a-ri*, *Ah-li-šar*, etc.),⁹³ and outwardly corresponds perfectly to the Hurrian name *Ah-li-ya*.⁹⁴

2. שֶׁשֶׁן resembles the element *šš* that occurs in a number of Hurrian names, perhaps in that of the great Mitannian king

Name *Šulmanuḫu* in an Akkadian letter from Ras Shamra, *Syria* 1929, pl. LXXVI No. 2, ll. 6, 16; and on the god *Šulman* in general s. W. F. ALBRIGHT 'The Syro-Mesopotamien God *Šulman-Ešmun* and Related Figures', *A div f. Orientforschung* VII, 164ff.

⁹¹ Cf. REUBENI, *op. cit.*, 146f.

^{91a} It is suggestive to compare the phrase applied in Nu. 24^{21a} by Balaam to the *Kenite* with that with which Obadiah, v. 4, apostrophises Edom.

⁹² CH. VIROLLEAUD, *Syria* XII, 389f. and RS 1929 1:13. In cuneiform writing: *Išhara*. Cf. on this god B. HROZNÝ, *Arch. Orient.* IV (1932), 122.

⁹³ GADD, *op. cit.*, 71.

⁹⁴ *ibid.*

Šauššatar and almost certainly in Ša-aš-ta-e, and in Še-eš-wa, Še-eš-wa-ia etc.,⁹⁵ whilst -n is a typically Hurrian suffix.

3. פֶּלֶת is reminiscent of Sin-palti, the name of a woman in the Nuzi texts.⁹⁶ It is perhaps compounded of the verbal element *pal* "to demand" and the suffix -*ti*, both of which we have already encountered in the course of our inquiry.

4. זז, it can hardly be doubted, is the Hurrian element *zz* which we have already discussed.⁹⁷

But a Horite strain can also be proved to have inhabited the farthest south of Palestine, the broad steppe of the Negeb. The oldest inhabitants of this region were the 'Amalekites and the 'Awwites. Now 'Amalek was, according to Gen. 36¹² a brother of Kēnaz, on whom see above, and a son of Eliāz (v.s.)⁹⁸, the son of Edom through the Horite "concubine" תַּמְנֵה (v.s.). As for the 'Awwites "who dwelt in הַצְרִים by Gaza", Dt. 2²³; Jos. 13³, SPEISER⁹⁹ has happily compared with their name the frequent Hurrian one of Huwya. A further ancient "Hamitic" strain, of Kušim and Me'unim (I. Chr. 4⁴⁰ ff.) is found in the district of Gerar (Tell Jemmeh), and these we know to have been partly extirpated and partly absorbed by the Šim'onites.¹⁰⁰ We may safely conclude that the whole of the Negeb was anciently inhabited by a Hamite or Kušite (Kassite?) and a Hurrian stratum, which were later overlaid by a Hebrew one (of Šim'onites, Edomites, Yerahme-elites etc.) but were only completely assimilated to the latter, to form with it the great tribe of Judah (Yehudah) and the smaller one of Simeon (Šim'on), towards the end of the pre-Exilic period.

Onomastic traces of this process in the case of Simeon are

⁹⁵ Cf. CONTENAU, *op. cit.*, 137; GADD, *ibid.*, 80.

⁹⁶ JAOS XLVII, 44; cf. MAISLER, *Tarbiz* III, 190.

⁹⁷ M. NOTH, *Die israelit. Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemit. Nomenclatur*, 40-41 includes שֶׁן, זז, and the זז mentioned a little further on among "pet-names which originated in the nursery and are so altered that the full names from which they are derived cannot be reconstructed". This statement is to be corrected in the light of the above, and as for the other two names included by NOTH in this sub-class, שֶׁן (if not corrupt for שֶׁרִיָּה) can also very well be compared to Šauššatar, whilst ישיש looks like a "Vollname"; so that the existence of such a sub-class seems very doubtful altogether.

⁹⁸ REUBENI, *op. cit.*, 145, also explains the name אֲנִי as Hurrian.

⁹⁹ AASOR XIII, 30, n. 67. ¹⁰⁰ See MAISLER, *Untersuchungen* I, 64, n. 1.

שפט בן חורי, Num. 13⁶ (but see LXX) ויחא 1. Chr, 4³⁷ (cf. the Yerahme'elite ויחא¹⁰¹ treated of a little further back), "Saul the son of the Canaanite woman", Gen. 46¹⁰, and, in all probability, the names of some localities which are compounded with חצר שועל: חצר מוסה, חצר שועל (Jos. 19^{3,5}; 1. Chr. 4³¹).

Thus the Biblical sources and the Ugarit tablets supplement one another admirably with regard to the wide distribution of the Hurrians in Syria and Palestine. Have we any archaeological data on this question as well?

ALBRIGHT¹⁰² has made the interesting observation that the peculiar ramparts of *terre pisée* that have been unearthed at Tell Fār'a and Tell Beit Mirsim (and recently at Tell Duweir) and to a lesser extent at Shechem and Ḥaṣor (Tell el-Ḳedah), were built by the Hyksos invaders from the north. ALBRIGHT and SPEISER suppose that the name of Ḥaṣor, and the חצרים of the 'Awwites, and the component חצר in the Simeonite place-names just referred to, and the Judite place names חצר גדה and חצר אדר, Jos. 15²⁷; Nu. 34⁴ are all connected with these Hyksos ramparts.¹⁰³ In the territory of Simeon also lay the Hyksos fortress of *Šrhn* (Heb. שרוחן, Jos. 19⁶). In addition, ALBRIGHT¹⁰⁴ observed that in the Hyksos strata of South Palestinian towns, a type of house known from Northern Mesopotamia—the megaron (ANDRAE's "Herdhaus")—is found. This again confirms that the Hyksos represent a *northern* wave of immigration.

That the Hurrians, or Horites, constituted the principle element therein hardly requires further proof.

¹⁰¹ V. s., n. 97.

¹⁰² W. F. ALBRIGHT, *JPOS* I, 187ff.; *BASOR* No. 47 (1932), 8.

¹⁰³ Cf. SPEISER, *AASOR* XIII, p. 30 n. 67. This hypothesis, however, though very satisfactory in the case of Ḥaṣor, is not without difficulties when applied to the *ḥaṣerim* of the 'Awwites and the names of towns compounded with חצר. For elsewhere in Hebrew חצרים—in contrast to חצרות—has only the sense of "villages", and in Lev. 25²⁹⁻³¹ חצרים certainly means *unwalled* villages in explicit contrast to walled towns. However, a rule need not be without exceptions; cf. syr. חירחא, "castra". Only exploration and excavation can settle this point.

Incidentally the צ in חצרים, which in any case denotes settlements of some sort, is shown by Syr. חירחא (for חערחא) and Arab. حضر to be descended from a primitive *ḥ*, whereas חצרות, "courts", is shown by the Ras Shamra spelling *ḥtr* to be connected rather with Arab. حظيرة, "enclosure".

¹⁰⁴ *BASOR* No. 47 (1932), 11.

We take this opportunity to add a few remarks on R.S. 1932, 4474, the other tablet edited by DHORME.

Ll. 1 and 19—the first and last of the piece, and the only ones that are damaged—seem to us to be identical. L. 1 looks like

(b)
 ʾi l d (z) y (?) ʾi l ; of which l. 19 only retains, but in the cor-
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

(b)
 responding positions: — — d (z) — — l (character No. 3 could also

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 be a *n*, but its low position confirms our inference from l. 1 that it is the lower part of a damaged *d*). We have no suggestion for an interpretation, but we doubt whether DHORME can be right in taking the first two letters ʾil as equivalent to the Heb. אל. First of all the word ʾil occurs certainly 14 other times in this short inscription, and always with its usual meaning of ʾIl, “God”. Secondly, ʾil is in any case a different formation from Heb. ʾalah (<ʾalat). Thirdly, the Heb. ʾalah has a very special sense—that of an adjuration reinforced by a curse—which seems to fit ill with the tenor of our text.

Ll. 2–5. *Trmlk* certainly does not mean “un taureau du roi”. In the epic texts of Ras Shamra ʾIl, *Tr* and *Mlk* figure both by themselves and in the combinations *Tr*ʾIl, ʾIl-*Mlk*, and *Tr*-*Mlk*, as different names of one and the same divinity (also called *Ltpn*ʾIl-*Dp*id, *Tr*ʾIl-*Dp*id, and *Bny Bmwt*). Accordingly we render *dr bn ʾil mḫrt bn ʾil trmlk*; *š ʿm ʾil wʾirt* as follows: the Abode of the Son(s) of ʾIl, the Assembly of the Son(s) of ʾIl-*Tr*-*Mlk*; a sheep unto ʾIl and ʾAṭirat. For ʿm, cf. above to R.S. 1932, 4475.

With these lines DHORME rightly compares RS 1929, 2:17, 25–26, 34.

L. 9. Transliterate: ʾil ḫ(!)š, ʾil ʾadʾu, as does DHORME himself in the commentary. ʾadʾu, whatever its meaning, is most likely an imperative infinitive: ʾadʾu, see above to R.S. 1932, 4475, ll. 7–11a.

Ll. 10–11: *bḡd špn*, *kl ʾugrt* can hardly mean “Saphon a ravagé tout Ugarit”. *Špn* seems from the evidence available to have been the name of the district of which ʾUgrt was the principal town. The primary meaning of the verb *bḡd*, which would explain those of all its derivatives, is apparently “to cover” (for the meaning

"to act faithlessly" cf. *m*l, ditto, with מַעִיל "outer" garment). One might then compare *kl* with Heb. כֹּלֵךְ, כֹּלֵכָה "to hold, sustain", or—better still—with Arab. كَلَّة "veil, mosquito-curtain", Talmudic Hebrew כִּילָה "curtain, curtained bed, canopy". One would then translate: Protect *Ṣpn*!

| | |
|---|---------|
| { | Sustain |
| | Shelter |

 Ugarit!

L. 12. *b mrḥ ʾil* DHORME rightly renders by "Par la fierté d'El", and compares Arabic *mariḥa* "être fier" and I-AB 1:22-24, which he renders "le faible en forces se lèvera-t-il avec Baal? fera-t-il le fier?". It should be noted, however, that J. N. EPSTEIN *apud* GINSBERG, *Tarbiz* IV Fasc. 1 (Oct. 1932), p. 111 (f) already has: הִתְנַשֵּׂא לִפְנֵי בַּעַל, הִשָּׁו פָּנָיו נֹכַח בְּיָרְדָן כְּתֻמָּס; invoking rather, with reason, the Syriac sense of the root *mrḥ*, dividing the clauses more rhythmically, and assigning to *m* the meaning it usually has in these texts—to which we have already referred several times.

We would now scan and translate these lines:

dk-anm lyrp m-b'l
lydb-mrḥ m-bn-dgn ktmsm

Shall the feeble of strength rise up against B'l?

Shall he defy Bn Dgn, the Crown of Beauty?

taking *ktmsm* = *kt msm*; *kt* = כֹּתֵר as *ḫt* = חֹתֵר (see *Tarbiz* V, 78 [4] to II-AB 1:31-32) and *msm* (= *mōsim*-) from *ysm*, a fairly common Ugaritic root, first interpreted (from Arab. *wsim*, Akk. *ysm*) by GINSBERG, *Tarbiz* IV Fasc. 4 (July 1933), p. 387 [8], l. 19ff.

L. 18. *b ḡdyn ʾil*. DHORME's reference to עֲרִי "covenant" of the Aramaic inscription of Sûjîn is not a bad suggestion, but the *n* can hardly be the pronominal suffix of the 1st pers. plur. "Par notre serment à El" is syntactically improbable. It is best to assume a formation like כִּנֵּן, בְּנֵן etc. and translate simply: "by the covenant of ʾil."

THE ARMENIAN TEXT OF MACCABEES.

DOM HUGH BÉVENOT, O.S.B.

(JERUSALEM)

§ I. INTRODUCTORY

Of late years there has been a gratifying revival of interest in the *Books of the Maccabees*. After the chronological studies of Father F.X. KUGLER on the Seleucid dynasty and on *Maccabees* in *Von Moses bis Paulus*, 1922¹ and of Professor KOLBE in his *Beiträge zur syrischen und jüdischen Geschichte* in 1926², we find the actual text of the books being taken in hand in scholarly fashion. In 1932 DOM DE BRUYNE, of the Vulgate Commission in Rome, published *Les anciennes Traductions latines des Machabées*, printing three texts in parallel columns for 1. *Maccabees* and no less than six for 2. *Macc.*³ Furthermore the Göttingen Septuagint Society has now under press all four books of the Greek text, which W. KAPPLER is editing.

DOM DE BRUYNE's edition was heralded as early as 1921 and 1922 by articles in the *Revue Biblique*,⁴ the second being fundamental for his text-critical views. On his side, Dr. KAPPLER brought out in 1929 his fine dissertation *De Memoria alterius libri Maccabaeorum*,⁵ for which he had been able to utilize proof-sheets of the Old-Latin texts of his Belgian colleague. The latter subsequently reviewed this dissertation in a notable third article in *Revue Biblique*, 1930, restating more vigorously his thesis touching the great value of OL(= Old-Latin texts), which KAPPLER viewed rather sceptically.

DOM DE BRUYNE gives us his final view in the long introduction to his edition of OL, and it is interesting to note that he here moderates to some extent his claims for these texts. At the same

¹ ASCHENDORFF, Münster, Westphalia, pp. 301—414.

² KOHLHAMMER, Berlin and Stuttgart (in the Series *Beiträge zur Wissenschaft des A. und N.T.*).

³ Publ. at Maredsous Abbey, nr. Namur (*Anecdota Maredsol.*, IV.) Large quarto.

⁴ 1921, pp. 405—409; 1922, 31—54. In this periodical Père ABEL published from 1923 to 1926 a brilliant series of articles on Maccabean topography, a subject with which this paper is not immediately concerned,—apart from some place-names in § 4 and § 5.

⁵ DEICHERT, Leipzig.

time he maintains that OL makes it clear that there were *two forms* of Greek text in circulation, OL representing often enough the older and purer cast of text. In such an important question (which will be treated at some length below) it is remarkable that neither the editor of the Latin texts nor the editor of the Greek text has turned to examine the *Armenian version of Maccabees*.—We propose to show in the following pages that this translation of Maccabees can contribute towards the elucidation of the textual problem.

The neglect of the Armenian version in Maccabean research cannot be described as absolute. Professor HERKENNE of Bonn consulted the text cursorily in 1904 for the *letters* at the beginning of 2 Macc. in his dissertation on this special subject: *Die Briefe zu Beginn des 2. Makkabäerbuches*.¹ But he came to the conclusion that the Armenian was a very free and unreliable translation, so that it could be of use only in support of readings otherwise known. There certainly are verses in the Armenian Maccabees which are free and even faulty, but the translation is on the whole literal. As for special readings, they are few in number, *save for such as agree with OL*, as we intend to show. It is a pity that Prof. HERKENNE's verdict apparently deterred Dr. KAPPLER from examining the Armenian text.² DOM DE BRUYNE is likewise silent on the subject, and I must confess to a like silence in my German commentary on *Maccabees*.³

It is thus a closed chapter I propose to open again. And indeed, taken quite generally, the Armenian Bible is of no little textual importance.⁴ To quote Dr. KAMINKA (who resides in Vienna, which is, like Venice, a great centre of Armenian study)⁵—:

"The Greek text upon which the Armenian translation was made may date from the 3rd or 4th century, or be even older, and the Armenian text is in any case invaluable both for critical work on the Septuagint as also for the history of exegesis. It appears to be more important than many of our oldest Greek codices (and the same has been admitted by PREUSCHEN, in *Zeitschrift für die neutest.*

¹ *Biblische Studien*, VIII, 4, Herder, Freiburg, 1904. ² Dissertation, p. 1

³ *Die beiden Makkabäerbücher*, Hanstein, Bonn, 1931.

⁴ For St. Matthew's gospel, for instance, see Père LYONNET's important article in *Revue Biblique*, Jan. 1934, pp. 69—87.

⁵ It is from the printing-presses of the Mechitharist Benedictines at Venice and Vienna that most editions of the Armenian Bible have come.

Wiss., 1900, 108, concerning the Pseudepigrapha, such as the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, though translated much earlier").¹

When we further note CORNÉLY's statement that "*haud raro etiam Armenus cum Vetere Latino contra Vulgatam consentit*",² the likelihood increases that Armenian readings may be "worth while" after all. But before examining the Armenian text of *Maccabees* it will be well to explain in brief what stage the criticism of the Greek text of these books has attained through the labours of DOM DE BRUYNE and Dr. KAPPLER.

§ 2. THE LATIN TEXTS AND THEIR VALUE.

The full edition of Old-Latin texts of *Maccabees* brought out by DOM DE BRUYNE makes it a pleasure, and a profitable one, to go into this subject. It will also render a better understanding of the Greek text possible.

As mentioned already, the editor prints three texts of 1. *Maccabees* and six of 2. *Macc.* This rich variety is the more striking since St. Jerome did not touch the books,—which were outside his "canon". It is other hands, unfortunately anonymous, that have tried their skill at improving the primitive Latin version.

These various revisions were strictly such—that is, there was no independent second translation of *Maccabees* made. This is the first very important result of DOM DE BRUYNE's text-critical work. There is in the case of *Maccabees* no duality of "Itala" and "Afra" versions. The only question here can be whether it was in Italy or in Africa that the translation was made. On this point the editor is reticent, but one ventures to think that the probabilities are in favour of Africa, since we find St. CYPRIAN quoting just the oldest form of text (at times).

The main forms of text are L, X, B, V, M, P:—

L=the Lyons MS of the 9th cent., giving by far the oldest text, which is very literal, and philologically of great value as well.

X=Complut. or the "First Bible of Ximenes", a rather free and very early revision, since it is the form of text generally followed

¹ 'Altarmenische Psalmenüberschriften', *Zeitschr. für alttest. Wissenschaft*, 1902, 121 ff; cf. *ibid.* 1930, 87 and 99 with literature, in H. S. GEHMAN's careful study of the Armenian Text of *Daniel*.

² *Introductio Generalis*, p. 407.

by LUCIFER OF CAGLIARI in Sardinia (fl. 360). The St.-Germain MS of Sabatier is analogous.

B = Bologna MS (Nr. 2571) of the 11th cent, has a considerably recast text, for which Greek MSS. (of minor value?) were consulted, and in which the Latin phraseology is rendered fulsome. This is the text from which St. Augustine quotes.

V = Vulgate (so-called), is a recension going back to the 5th century. For it L, X, and B were utilised, the latter however very sparingly, and Greek MSS were consulted—not always felicitously. Still, the revision is substantially creditable and sober in style, so that it was perhaps not too unworthy of being embodied in Vulgate Bibles.

M = Milan MS (Ambros. B. 48 Inf.), a form of text very analogous to B, of which we need here note but one fact, of great importance, that it gives us the full "speculum" text of 2. *Macc.* It will thus be "Africo-Spanish."¹

P = Peyron version (Ambros. Milan, E 26 Inf.). This revision was the work of a real scholar. He best brings out the sense of the Greek. But his style is often affected, and he embodies doublets indiscriminately. The MS has only 2. *Maccabees*.

The first two MSS noted above, L and (in part) X, represent with a high degree of fidelity very old MSS, as we have pointed out. The actual translation must have been made in the first decades of the 3rd century, or even earlier. It follows that the *Greek* MS employed for the purpose was far older than any Maccabee uncial. How good this Greek exemplar was will appear from an examination of the Old-Latin texts.

The most striking feature of the OL version is its disagreement

¹ This BM type of text is so different that some scholars have thought it implies rather a new translation than a recension. Still, DOM DE BRUYNE rightly maintains that there is at bottom but *one* translation, and if we find P. VACCARI doubtful yet (*Biblica*, April, 1933) it can only be because he does not appreciate the importance of DOM DE BRUYNE's discovery of a manuscript with a recension of 3 *Esdras* precisely in this style, emanating indeed from the same hand. This writer has brought his own "personal equation", his own phraseology, into play, when recasting the OL. in either case. Thus he always writes *quia* for *quoniam*, and uses the words *ara*, *confixio tabernaculi* (= *scenopegiae*!), *thesaurus*, *trucidare*, *claritas*, etc., in both 3 *Esdras* and *Maccabees*.

with G (= Greek text) in certain passages. These *variants* are sometimes of no little importance; see the list below in our examination of the Armenian text, § 4.

Secondly OL has a number of *omissions*, which we may rightly call "non-interpolations". These again, as they find corroboration at times in the Armenian text, will be dealt with in § 4.

The third feature of the OL text, taken in connexion with G, is the number of *doublets* that come to light. These we treat at once, as they are a necessary preliminary to a study of the Greek text itself. Most of these doublets actually are in the Greek MSS, (Lucian and Venetus), the OL readings being at these points highly instructive. Whether DOM DE BRUYNE overrates their importance or not, will be clear to anyone who reads this paper through.

The *doublets*. We begin with the very striking case that KAPPLER himself quotes from DOM DE BRUYNE in his *Memoria* . . . The passage is in 2. *Macc.* 15¹⁷. The Jews resolve to fight against Nicanor:

- | | |
|---|---|
| { | A: μετὰ πάσης εὐανδρίας A q L ² 55, 56, 58, 106, 311 = cum omni virtute P |
| | B: { μετὰ καλῆς εὐδαιμονίας = cum bona felicitate, Lyons, X μεγάλῃ εὐδαιμονίᾳ = magna bonitate, B |
| | A+B: μετὰ καλῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ μετὰ πάσης εὐανδρίας = Lucian. |

Here Lucian (of Antioch) has saved us the Greek expression μετὰ καλῆς εὐδαιμονίας, which is evidently behind the two forms of the Old-Latin. So DOM DE BRUYNE sees here a *pre-Lucianism*. In many other cases Venetus also or alone has the Greek variant. The following instances will suffice.

- | | |
|---|--|
| { | A: 14 ¹⁶ ἤκούσθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ . . . καὶ ἕως Σπάρτης, Sin. Ven. 52 = auditum est Romae . . . et usque Spartem (in Sp . .) OL+Vulg. |
| | B: ἤκουσαν ἐν Ῥώμῃ . . . καὶ . . . most Greek |
| | A+B: ἤκουσαν ἐν Ῥ . . . καὶ ἕως Σπάρτης ἤκούσθη — Lucian. |

Another example from 1. *Macc.* will be dealt with below. In 2. *Macc.* there are frequent instances:

- 3¹⁹ speaks of the mourning women beating their breasts:
- | | |
|---|---|
| { | A: τὸ στήθος Lucian = OL pectus (LXV) or pectora (BM). |
| | B: ὑπὸ τοὺς μαστοὺς most Greek MSS = OL (P) sub mammis |
| | A+B: ὑπὸ τοὺς μαστοὺς τὸ στήθος Ven. and 55 (cod. reg. vatic). |

- 14⁷ **A:** δεῦρο Lucian = huc LXV.
B: δεύτερον Alex 64,93 = iterum B (and partly MP)
A+B: δεῦρο δεύτερον Venetus!

Thus we see that behind the Old-Latin, esp. in its purest forms LX, there was a Greek recension in many ways differing from the present Greek. Also the variants occur much more systematically in OL than the various elements of the recension that can be detected yet in Greek MSS. (For more details see DE BRUYNE's Introduction, or *Rev. Bibl.*, 1922, p. 38-50).

§ 3. THE GREEK RECENSIONS AND THEIR VALUE.

It is doubtless a very fortunate circumstance that Dr. KAPPLER's study of the Greek text synchronises with that of DOM DE BRUYNE on the OL. Either scholar has had an insight in the *modus procedendi* of the other, so that the resultant, or shall we say the common denominator, of their labours bids fair to make this Maccabee research a classical example of modern scholarship.

Dr. KAPPLER has spent ten years preparing his edition of the Greek text of *Maccabees*, including Books 3 and 4, as well as 1 and 2. This broadening of the basis is doubtless a gain, especially with regard to the vocabulary of 2. *Macc.*, owing to the florid Alexandrian style of the book. For the classification of the MSS he has selected 2. *Macc.* for very close study, witness his dissertation already mentioned, *De Memoria alterius libri Maccabaeorum*. This study, that can to some extent be called programmatic for the prospective edition, is our main source for the following exposition. Only in illustration of a few passages will it be necessary to cite the Göttingen collations of 1. *Maccabees*, which were very kindly placed at my disposal for a short time.

For this edition the MSS in the great libraries have been specially photographed, quite a number being found that do not figure in the Septuagint of HOLMES and PARSONS. The new-comers, however, are mostly of no special value. After due examination of all the MSS Dr. KAPPLER comes to the conclusion that there are (for 2. *Macc.*) just twenty-five in all that are good enough to serve as basis for the new edition. These are the uncials Alexandrinus and Venetus, and twenty-three minuscules. The famous Sinaiticus unfortunately

contains now only 1 *Macc.*, a part of the MS being lost. It originally had 2. *Macc.*, and very probably 3. and 4. *Macc.* as well. Vaticanus omits all four books.

The minuscules are of very diverse kind. That they contained the Lucianic (Antiochean) recension was already known, but Dr. KAPPLER has the credit of having discovered a second recension in 8 MSS, namely in 29, 74, 98, 107, 120, 130, 243 and 731. BROOKE and MACLEAN having assigned the letter "q" to cod. 120 in the Cambridge Septuagint, KAPPLER has adopted it as key-letter for the recension.

This recension is not important by reason of its special readings, which are mostly unwarranted, but simply by reason of its constituting a *family* of MSS. Thus besides the ordinary and the Lucianic texts in their respective families of MSS, we have the third family of "q". So KAPPLER can proceed to constitute his text by playing off the readings of any two families against the third — all else being equal. One reservation must be made, in that for the 'ordinary text' KAPPLER has no 'family', but only Alex.

Turning now to the *Lucianic MSS*, which have long caused much speculation, we find that KAPPLER's research has led to results remarkable enough. Five MSS (64, 236, 381, 534, 728) are shown to be essentially Lucianic, (L¹) i. e. they are derived from a Lucianic archetype, while four others (L² = 19, 62, 93, 542) are based on the ordinary text, with Lucianic corrections worked in. This comes as a surprise, for 19, 62 and 93 have long been considered essentially Lucianic, e. g. for Esther.

We have interesting instances of Lucianic readings in 2 *Macc.* 11³⁰ and 10¹⁰

Ordinary text:

| | | | |
|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| (11 ³⁰) | μετὰ τῆς ἀδείας | (10 ¹⁰) | αὐτὰ συντέμνοντες |
| L ¹ | μετὰ πάσης δικαίας | L ¹ | αὐτ' ἐπιτέμνοντες |
| L ² | μετὰ πάσης ἀδείας | L ² | αὐτὰ ἐπιτέμνοντες |

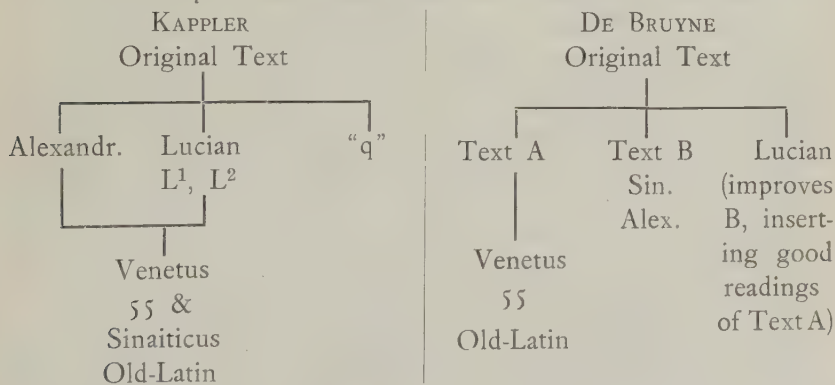
Lucian probably made the second change because he had the word "Epitomator" in mind, the name by which the redactor of 2 *Maccabees* is generally known. See also 2 *Maccabees* 2²³ and 3².—Besides such changes in style, Lucian has some substantial variants, which at times agree with the Old-Latin and with the Greek cod. Venetus. Are these then pre-Lucianisms? Before dealing with this great question,

let us try to see what the ordinary Greek text is, as distinct from the two clear recensions ("q" and Lucian) aforesaid.

By "ordinary text" we do not mean the "textus receptus", but the text such as one would expect the bulk of older MSS to present. One is surprised to find that KAPPLER considers that cod. Alexandrinus stands alone for the simple, or shall we say "neutral" text. One would have thought that *Venetus* and the very early minuscule 55 (cod. Reginae Vatic.) along with 46 and 56, 58, 106, 311 would be of value to establish a "general" text, but KAPPLER rules them out as mere representatives of a mixed text (p. 25, 54). This is to some extent correct, as "q" elements appear; but the signs of conformity with Lucian (especially in *Venetus*), may simply be due to a parallel inheritance of pre-Lucianisms. This is the more likely as for 1. *Maccabees* there is the valuable evidence of Sinaiticus.

While KAPPLER stands by Cod. Alex. as a generally sound (though carelessly written) representative of the original Greek, DOM DE BRUYNE, as we have seen, thinks this type of text very secondary, i. e. the product of a revision—in more than one stage. What then was the primal Greek text? And why has KAPPLER so little to say about it?

Let us compare his classification with that of DE BRUYNE.



It may well be that KAPPLER will modify his standpoint in the introduction to his new edition, or in an article in *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesell. der Wissenschaft*. Meanwhile let us see whether an appeal to the Armenian Text can help to clear up the rights and the wrongs of these two antagonistic theories. It will, we believe, support DOM DE BRUYNE's scheme and rank alongside with the Old-Latin, as a witness to Text A.

§ 4. THE EVIDENCE OF THE ARMENIAN TEXT.

DOM DE BRUYNE can cite many instances where no Greek MS has just the reading of OL, though the reading figures at times as doublet in Lucian or Venetus. On consulting the Armenian text, however, we find that the Old-Latin is no longer "alone": the distant oriental version of Armenia substantiates its readings frequently.

It may be objected that the Armenian version was perhaps made from Greek manuscripts of Lucianic character. This objection is important, so we shall deal with it at once, and make its futility clear, at least for *Maccabees*.¹

In the first place Lucian has none of the omissions (non-interpolations) found in OL and Armen.; omissions which will be dealt with below. Besides, passages like the following seem decisive.

A collection is made by Judas among his soldiers (man by man) to have a sacrifice offered in the Temple, 2 Macc. 12⁴⁸:

Ven. 58 and the recension "q" read: καὶ ἄνδρα λογίαν (δράχμας δισχιλίας) = conlatamque viritim pecuniam (P), while Lucian has: ἀνδρολογίαν + κατασκευάσματα. But λογία is a good word for "collection"; cf. 1. Cor. 16¹ περὶ δὲ τῆς λογίας . . . ποιήσατε, with the very same verb! The Armenian reads literally: *With virility, counsel, he gathered four double-drachmas* = καὶ ἄνδρα, λογίαν, . . . ποιησάμενος. . . διδράχμας τέσσαρα. Here there is evidently *nothing* Lucianic. We note also that the translator read ἄνδρα (ἀνδρεῖα?), though he rendered it wrongly. Then comes a surprise: four double-drachmas instead of 2,000 drachmas! This may, however, be the true reading, the sense being that Judas got *each soldier* to contribute four double-drachmas for the sacrifice.

Lucianic additions also fail in Armen. in such instances as

1. Macc., 4¹⁶ ἡ δύναμις + αὐτοῦ in all Lucianic MSS except 62, 542;
2. Macc., 5²⁴ ἔπεμψε πρεσβ. ὁ Ἀντίοχος " " " 542.

¹ For *Nehemiah* and *Kings* I have compared a number of Lucianic variants with the Armenian text. In both cases agreements are the exception. The one instance so far found in *Kings* (2. Kg. 23³⁸: 10 talents of gold,—as against the ridiculous 100 talents of LXX) is attributed by Prof. RAHLFS to the influence of the Syriac and not of the Lucianic text (*Septuagintastudien*, 3, p. 283 fol.). The same applies to chap. 22 of *Ezech.*, typically Lucianic in some MSS, but not so in Armen.

Indeed, the disagreement being so frequent, it can be safely asserted that the Armenian text is non-Lucianic in origin and has suffered no Lucianic revision. It corresponds, that is to say, neither to the L¹ class nor to the secondary class of Lucianic MSS as distinguished acutely by KAPPLER. Consequently, when Armen. has a substantial variant that *also* figures in Lucian, it may habitually be styled a pre-Lucianism.

Comparison with the Old-Latin.— While Lucian thus falls out of line, there are many points of agreement between the Armenian and Old-Latin text of *Maccabees*. And the important thing is that the agreement occurs in many instances where DOM DE BRUYNE upholds the Old-Latin readings as against the current Greek, or as against the whole manuscript tradition.

Going through the “*unique*” variants of OL, (on p. X of DE BRUYNE’s introduction¹) we place the Armenian reading alongside—after the Greek:

| LATIN | GREEK | ARMENIAN |
|---|---|--|
| 1. <i>Macc.</i> 4 ²⁹ undecim milia habens | δέκα χειλιάδας ἔχων S ἐν δέκα χιλιάσιν plur. | eleven thousand |
| „ 5 ⁶⁶ Marisan | Σαμαρίαν | Marisa |
| „ 5 ⁸⁵ Mella | Μααφα | Mahapha |
| „ 9 ⁴ Bereth(aim) | Βερέαν | Bereth |
| 2. <i>Macc.</i> 3 ⁴ (Simon . .) de tribu balgea | Βενιαμειν | Balger (cf. 1. Chron. 24 ¹⁴) |
| „ 4 ⁴ Apollonium Menesthei (= Ἀπολλ. Μενέσθεως | Ἀπολ. μαίνεσθαι(έ)ως | Apollonius infuriated |
| „ 5 ² } Argarizin | Γαριζ(ε)ιν | Gargarizin |
| „ 6 ² } | | |
| „ 8 ²³ Esdran | Ἐλεάζαρον | Esdran |
| „ 12 ⁸⁶ Esdriam | Ἐσδριν | Esdren |

It thus appears that of these *ten* variants of OL no less than *seven* also stand in Armen., that is, in the Greek text used for that version. Of the two readings supported by JOSEPHUS (*Marisa* and *Mella*),

¹ Two of these variants (1. *Macc.* 9⁵⁰ and 16¹⁸) are left out in my list, as the Armenian text is in the one case corrupt, in the other vague.

Armen. has the one that is certainly correct (*Marisa*, i. e. *Tell Sandahannah*), since the campaign took place in Southern Judea.

Similarly the striking *omissions* that occur in OL are mostly supported by Armen., and thus deserve to be styled "non-interpolations". Having in view the very literal manner of translation in OL of Maccabees, any omission deserves examination, and when we now find Armenian evidence supporting such omission, it is little short of conclusive.

In 1. *Macc.* the instances are very rare¹; but not so in 2. *Macc.*:

3^{25c} φερόμενος δὲ ῥύδην ἔσεισεν τῷ Ἡλιοδόρῳ τὰς ἐμπροθεσίους ὄπλας, is omitted by OL. This statement that the horse struck Heliodorus with its forefeet, (when he assaulted the Temple treasury) seems superfluous and incongruous, as the punishment of Heliodorus comes in the following verse.—Armen. omits altogether and has a shorter, and better form of the whole sentence.²

5¹⁶: OL omits καὶ δόξαν after αὔξησιν. The words seem to be a gloss for this latter expression (DE BRUYNE), and are in any case superfluous since καὶ τιμὴν follows. Armen. also omits.

Chapters 6 and 7 (with the martyrdom of Eleazar and of the mother with her seven sons) tempted the pious scribes irresistibly to make some additions.

6³¹ homilises on the brave death of Eleazar, adding to the original short and crisp closing verse 31 Καὶ οὗτος οὖν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον μετέλλαξεν the following, which OL and Armen. omit: οὐ μόνον τοῖς νέοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις τοῦ ἔθνους τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θάνατον ἐπόδειγμα γενναϊότητος καὶ μνημόσυνον ἀρετῆς καταλείπων. This is clearly a repetition from v. 28: τοῖς δὲ νέοις ἐπόδειγμα γενναῖον καταλείπειν. . .

7¹ in Greek has the term ἀθεμίστων qualifying "swine's-flesh";—to remind Christian readers that such food was *forbidden* to the Jews. The term is omitted in OL and Armen.

7¹¹ is the most interesting case of "non-interpolation", the *whole verse* being omitted in the Old-Latin Lyons Ms. and in Armen. So V. 12 follows at once upon V. 10. To show how well they connect, we quote the Revised Version as independent translation.

¹ 9⁴⁵ καὶ ἐξόπισθεν ἡμῶν. om. OL and Armen.

² "For there appeared to them suddenly a magnificent horse with a rider resplendent in (his) golden weapons."— V. 26 follows at once: "And also two young men clad in rich garments, going before the rider on the right and left side."

10 And after him was the third made a mocking-stock. And when he was required, he quickly put out his tongue, and stretched forth his hands courageously,

12 insomuch that the king himself and they that were with him were astonished at the young man's soul, for that he nothing regarded the pains.

We see there is no break in the narrative, so that the intermediate verse 11 seems uncalled for. It reads:

11 and nobly said: 'From heaven I possess these, and for his laws' sake I condemn these; and from him I hope to receive them back again.'

The copyist evidently wished to stress the resurrection of the body, as the author of 2. *Macc.* did in 14⁴⁶, when recounting the death of Razis.

7¹⁸ has, on the other hand, an addition supported by Armen.

ἀξία θανμαστοῦ γέγονε.

This is also the case in 7³² ἡμεῖς γὰρ διὰ τὰς ἐαντιῶν ἀμαρτίας πάσχομεν, in so far as some Armenian MSS have the phrase, which appears borrowed from v. 18.

8³³ moralises upon the fate of the wicked Callisthenes: καὶ τὸν ἀξιὸν τῆς δυσσεβείας ἐχομίσατο μισθόν. The Vulgate has the phrase, but OL (LXBM) and Armen. omit.

On the other hand Armen. reproduces καὶ ἀπωλεῖαν after τροπήν of the Greek in 12²⁷, the former being probably a gloss, which OL omit.

Summing up the cases of special variants and of non-interpolations in OL and Armen., we may say that in *most instances* both versions agree and thus bear joint witness to a now lost form of Greek text that was *shorter* and *purser*. This conclusion is strengthened when we refer to the *doublets* examined in the last part of § 2; for a comparison with Armen. shows that this version never follows the inferior B text, but has in most cases clearly the A text. When therefore Armen. agrees with Lucian, it will be because the latter has consulted Greek MSS that still had the primitive readings. An important instance is the reading "Tubieni" instead of "Bacenor" in 2. *Macc.* 12³⁵; cf. v. 17. We clearly have here a pre-Lucianism.

§ 5. SPECIAL UTILITY of the ARMENIAN TEXT.

We have seen how frequently the Armenian supports OL. There remain some cases to deal with where the Armenian seems to bring positive, and to a great extent quite independent, evidence towards

what the Greek text primitively was. It will again appear, if we are not much mistaken, that the Greek text behind Armen. was particularly good. But it should be understood that by "independent evidence" we mean Armenian readings that stand indeed alone, but seem from the context to deserve examination, or can throw light on readings in other versions.¹

In *1. Macc.* the Armenian text presents a number of such cases. 1^{3c} καὶ ἡσύχασεν ἡ γῆ ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ. "The earth was silent before him". This is the meaning all versions give,—except Armen. and the Hebrew translation published by CHWOLSON,² which read "the earth shook" (trembled), Cf. v. 28: καὶ ἐσειόθη ἡ γῆ. Before knowing the Armenian, I had adopted this reading in my German commentary in 1931; this is now corroborated by the Armenian, which presupposes ἐσειόθη for ἡσύχασεν.

The same verse ends in cod. Alex. and OL with the phrase καὶ ὑπόθη, καὶ ἐπήθη ἡ καρδία αὐτοῦ; other codices (Sin., Ven.) place these words in the middle of v. 4. The Armenian text, however, omits the words altogether. This certainly suggests that the phrase is secondary, and was inserted irregularly into the extant MSS.

A topographical point of some importance is raised by the readings of Armen. in 7¹⁹ and 9⁴. We have already pointed out that Armen. reads Bereth for Berea in 9⁴ (supported by the Syriac and OL); the important thing is that Armen. has Beraeth in 7¹⁹ as well. In this place the Greek reads Βαιδζηδ, Βηζεδ, which seems to point to Beit Zaita, a few miles N. of Bethsur. That Bezetha, the later northern part of Jerusalem, could be meant is very unlikely. — The whole scene is different if we accept the reading Beraeth of the Armenian, with which agrees the Old-Latin B-text (Bereth). It would follow that Bacchides just marched "a day's journey" north to Beeroth, — *el-Bire* (or *el-Gib?*). If it was there he held his court-martial and slew many Jews, casting them into "the great well" (τὸ φρέαρ τὸ μέγα), that would all be perfectly in situation. — In 9⁴ also we find Bacchides marching from Jerusalem to this place, so it may well be the same strategic move repeated.

¹ Armen. alone omits *1. Macc.* 4¹⁻⁹, and lessens the numbers in 11⁴⁵ and 11⁴⁷ to 12,000 and 10,000 respectively (χιλιάδας for μυριάδας).

² This can be most easily consulted in the edition of A. SCHWEIZER, (Berlin, 1901), but SCHWEIZER's *introduction* is most uncritical.

In 11² Armen. has a small omission, which would be negligible if the Greek text were not uncertain, reading οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως (Sin.) and οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν πόλεων (plur.). A few Vulgate MSS also omit *altogether* along with the following verse.

In 11³⁰ the Greek (and Latin) read clumsily "King Demetrius to Jonathan his Brother greeting, *and to the people of the Jews*". Armen. is very likely right in omitting the words in italics, since "greeting" (χαίρειν) properly stands at the end of the salutation.

In 7^{31f} the Armenian comes remarkably close to Sinaiticus and OL, reading with them "500 men" (instead of 5000) of the enemy slain, and omitting the first syllable of (Ca)pharsalama, Armen. having *Parsala*.

As I close this "preliminary report" on the Armenian text of Maccabees, it may be well to stress this resemblance of Armen. to the text of Sinaiticus. This Greek MS. is highly valued by DOM DE BRUYNE as being at times closest to the Hebrew original. Armen. is consequently in good company, having so many affinities with OL. and Sin. When the three agree, the Greek reading they represent will surely be the best. When they differ, Armen. and OL deserve the preference before Sin. For the latter has interpolations partly traceable as far back as Origen. Moreover it can be seen from the appended synopsis that the Greek MS. back of Armen. was contemporaneous with Sin. and perhaps older. To this note of antiquity is to be added the prestige of purity on the strength of the internal evidence given above. It is only when compared with OL that Armen. comes off only "second best" on both these scores. In 1 Mak. 2⁷⁰ speaking of Mattathias, father of Judas, OL and Sin. have a crisp passive "he was buried"; Armen. has "they buried him", which is less good, but much better than the other Greek MSS "his sons buried him". And the Greek MS used by Armen. quite possibly had the passive too. — But while Armen. has at times difficulty in ranking with OL and Sin., its superiority as regards purity from *Lucianisms* can hardly be contested; Sinaiticus has a small number of them, OL has less still, and Armen., it may well be said, has none at all.

In conclusion, I have the pleasant duty of recording my obligations to the Armenian Catholic and Orthodox Fathers of Jerusalem who have guided my first steps in Armenian and assisted me very ma-

terially in conning the Bible in that language. Both the first and second editions of Zohrab were used (Venice, 1805 and 1859), and a valuable manuscript Bible of the Armenian Orthodox Patriarchate (13th century) was also consulted, through the painstaking courtesy of the Reverend Father Librarian.

* * *

Professor DÖLLER of Vienna worked long at a detailed commentary on 1. and 2. *Maccabees* in German, taking the Armenian text into consideration. But this scholar unfortunately died some six years ago, and the manuscript commentary (finished or unfinished) has been lost.

SYNOPSIS OF MACCABEAN TEXT EVOLUTION (Greek)

| Xtian Century | Text A | Text B | Lucianic Recension |
|---------------|--|---|--|
| 1st | Used by Josephus (Antiq.) 90-93 | | |
| 2nd | 195 (?) Old-Latin version made | | |
| 3rd | 252 Cyprian quotes OL(L) | 220 Origen quotes interpolated text | |
| 4th | 365 Lucifer uses OL (L & X) text | Sinaiticus 310 "q" recension | 305 Lucian improves style of B Text and inserts readings from A Text; |
| 5th | 420 ARMENIAN VERSION* 451 Maccabee text read to Armenian army | Augustine uses OL (B) text Alexandrinus Sinaiticus corrected (in Caesarea)—cor. a | Syriac translation made on Lucianic text Theodoret quotes Lucianic text |
| 6th | Greek MS? (used later by Venetus) | | |
| 7th | | | |
| 8th | Venetus (doublets A - B) | | |
| 9th | Lyons MS (OL) | Cod. 55 (?) | cod. 542 (Paris) |

* Probably made on early 4th century MS (or MSS); certainly with no use of the Syriac. — The above dates are approximate.



THE "KITĀB BĀ'ITU-N-NUFŪS" OF IBNU-L-FIRKĀH

CHARLES D. MATTHEWS

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA.

INTRODUCTION

The Arabic text here given is that of a Moslem pilgrim's hand-book for Palestine, first written over 600 years ago. (The author died 1329 A.D.) The basic text is MS. No. 177 of the Landberg Collection of Arabic MSS. at Yale University.¹ Collation has been made with copies from Leiden, the British Museum, and the Bibliothèque Nationale.² An edition on the basis of the Yale and Leiden MSS. with introduction, translation, text, and notes, was presented as a dissertation for the degree of doctor of philosophy in Yale University in 1932.

The author of the *bā'itu-n-nufūs* is mainly concerned with the merits of a "lesser pilgrimage" to Jerusalem, and the rites there to be performed. But he also includes, in the final chapter, a like consideration of Hebron with its tombs of the Patriarchs, as well as references elsewhere to Bethlehem and other sacred places in Palestine—a holy land to Muslims no less than to Jews and Christians. Because the entire object is religious pilgrimage, the book does not include the legendary and historical material of the first ages, *الأوائل*, which other books by Muslim authors, earlier and later, often extensively employed. It is, in fact, a smaller book extracted from such longer works, the author-editor selecting only such traditions and other material as fitted his pious object.

¹ The MSS. were acquired in 1900 by munificence of Morris K. Jessup, from the Oriental collections of Count Landberg which have gone to enrich a number of libraries in Europe and America—notably those of Berlin, Leiden, Princeton, and Yale. The character of the MSS. at Yale may be learned from the descriptive article by Prof. CHARLES C. TORREY in *The Library Journal*, Feb., 1903.

² In the Notes, Y is the Yale MS.; L that of Leiden; P Paris; M British Museum Oriental 4371, and M² British Museum MS. Oriental 5813 (the older copy there).

The author is Burhānu-d-Dīn Abu Ishāq Ibrāhīm ibnu-š-Šeiḥ Tāju-d-Dīn ibn ʿAbdu-r-Raḥmān ibn Sabāʿ al-Fazarī al-Badrī al-Anṣārī, known as IBNU-L-FIRKĀH.

The author's father, with the name as above and addition of *al-Miṣrī*, is given by BROCKELMANN¹ among the Shāfiʿite writers on *fiqh* in the "nachklassische Periode der islamischen Literatur."

The author was born in Rabīʿ 1, 660/1262. His birthplace was the former capital of the Islamic world. He followed the scholarly bent of his father and also became a teacher—finally, indeed, his father's successor in the Bādarāʿiyya. For a short time he was meanwhile also preacher in the Omayyad Mosque of Damascus. He died in Jumāda 1, 729/1329. The date of the *bāʿiṭ* is fixed no nearer than the known limits of his lifetime. The place of composition was in all probability Damascus.

IBNU-L-FIRKĀH is listed by BROCKELMANN as among the geographers and cosmographers of the time of the decline of Islamic literature in that period "von der Mongolenherrschaft bis zur Eroberung Ägyptens durch Selim im Jahre 1517." BROCKELMANN lists two other works by him beside our text: 1) *al-manāʾiḥ li-ṭālib aṣ-ṣaid waḍ-ḍabāʾiḥ*, and 2) *islām fī faḍāʾili-š-Šām*. AHLWARDT's catalogue of the Arabic MSS. in the Preussische Staats-Bibliothek (V of the Arabic series, XVII of the general MS. collection) lists a copy of the last named work. There are also other MSS. (BROCKELMANN, I, p. 331). The *manāʾiḥ* is extant also—Gotha 2095 (BROCK., II, p. 130). The *islām* is a condensation of the *kitābu-l-islām fī faḍāʾili-š-Šām* of AR-RABAʿĪ (d. 435/1043; see BROCK., I, p. 330f, and p. 391).² Whether the *manāʾiḥ* is also a *muḥtaṣar* is not known.

IBNU-L-FIRKĀH, as suggested above, follows the practice of most

¹ *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Reference to IBNU-L-FIRKĀH and the *bāʿiṭ* are in II, p. 130, and I, p. 331; to the father, I, p. 397.

² In fact, AHLWARDT had to correct for the catalogue a wrong ascription of the shorter work to AR-RABAʿĪ himself. It contains 155 pp. 8 vo. The *islām* is referred to as such a condensation by AS-SUYŪTĪ (not Jalālu-d-Dīn, but Shamsu- or Kamālu-d-Dīn) in the introduction to his long and interesting book, *ithāfu-l-aḥiṣṣā*. The quotation is given on p. xix (introd.) of the very faulty translation by Rev. JAMES REYNOLDS, B.A., auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland (London, A. J. Valpi, 1836), under title of *The History of the Temple of Jerusalem*. The quotation is taken by AS-SUYŪTĪ from the *rauḍu-l-mugharras* to be discussed below.

Arab authors of olden time in utilizing the works of his predecessors to a very great extent.¹ But this does not detract from his importance as a Muslim leader in religion and literature during his lifetime and as a wide influence on those who followed him—as definite instances of use of the *bāʿit* and the number of existing copies of the little work will clearly show.

The *bāʿit-n-nufūs* is an extract from two authors, IBN ʿASĀKIR and ABU-L-MAʿĀLĪ. (Only in a few instances do we find the editor-author inserting something of his own opinion—and AS-SUYŪTĪ, interestingly enough, quotes one of these). It is so plainly and honestly an extract that the two sources are kept before the reader continually, from the very acknowledgment of his indebtedness in the preface: "This is an extract (*muntahab*) on the merits (*faḍāʾil*) of Jerusalem and of the Tomb of the Friend of Allah, Ibrāhīm, the greater part of it from the book *al-mustaḡṣā* of al-Ḥāfiẓ Bahāʾu-d-Dīn IBN ʿASĀKIR and the lesser from the book of the Šeiḥ Abu-l-Maʿālī-l-Mušarraḥ ibnu-l-Murajjā-l-MUQADDASĪ. What I have quoted from the book of Abu-l-Maʿālī is made plain that it is from his words; and the rest is from *al-mustaḡṣā*."

IBN ʿASĀKIR's book 'On the Excellencies of the Aksa Mosque, (*kitābu-l-uns fī faḍāʾili-l-Quds*), contains the lectures which he gave in the Mosque at Jerusalem during the year 596 A.H./1190 A.D.

The work of IBN ʿASĀKIR which (with that of AL-MAQDISĪ) forms the basis of the *bāʿit-n-nufūs* is his *jāmiʿu-l-mustaḡṣā fī faḍāʾili-l-Masjidi-l-Aqṣā*,² while other works of IBN ʿASĀKIR are extant, copies of his *jāmiʿ* unfortunately have not come to light.

Little is known of AL-MAQDISĪ except that he was earlier than IBN ʿASĀKIR. We know he was earlier (than the younger IBN ʿASĀKIR, at least) from a quotation from the two by AS-SUYŪTĪ: "On authority of the Ḥāfiẓ IBN ʿASĀKIR, the testimony going back to Abu-al-Maʿālī AL-MUQADDASĪ, it is related how ʿAbd al-Malik built the Dome of the Rock and the Aqṣā Mosque . ." (LE STRANGE,

¹ Cf. comment on this practice by GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*. New York and London, 1890.

² BROCKELMANN, II, p. 130, gives this correct information; but by some slip on p. 331, vol. I, under IBN ʿASĀKIR, he says that it is his *faḍāʾil al-Quds waʾsh-Shām* which "liegt dem *bāʿit* . . . zu Grunde." But the *faḍāʾil*, of course, is from the hand of AL-MAQDISĪ (= AL-MUQADDISĪ, AL-MUQADDASĪ).

JRAS, XIX, New Series, p. 285). In a quotation from MUJIRU-D-DĪN's *Unsu-l-Jalīl* we find further welcome details about ABU-L-MA'ĀLĪ
 الشيخ الامام ابو المعالي المشرف بن المرجان ابراهيم المقدسي كان من علماء بيت المقدس له كتاب فضائل بيت المقدس والصخرة وما اتصل بذلك من اخبار واثار وفضائل الشام وهو كتاب مفيد رواه بالاسانيد منه عنه ابو القاسم مكى الرمبلي الاتي ذكره بعده ولم اطلع لابي المعالي على ترجمه ولا تاريخ وفاة ولكنه في عصر ابي القاسم المذكور.¹

The work of ABU-L-MA'ĀLĪ, also, seems to have become entirely lost except for extracts incorporated in the *bā'ith*. Practically all the material on the proper rites for the pilgrim in Jerusalem, in chapters five, six, seven, and eight, and as well that for the rites to be observed at the mosque in Hebron, are from ABU-L-MA'ĀLĪ. It would appear from this that in his case also interest in the religious associations of the holy cities of Palestine was paramount.

Besides the works of IBN 'ASĀKIR and ABU-L-MA'ĀLĪ a number of other books are mentioned as sources in some smaller particulars.

The influence of IBNU-L-FIRKĀH on those who came after him is directly acknowledged in several important works, and may with strong probability be supposed in others. A reference was given above (p. 285 note 2) to use of his *islām* by Tāju-d-Dīn Abū Naṣṣār 'ABDU-L-WAHHĀB in his *ar-rauḍu-l-mugharras fī faḍā'ili baiti-l-muqaddas*, and through him by AS-SUYŪṬĪ in his *iṭḥāf*. Tāju-d-Dīn was also indebted to IBNU-L-FIRKĀH's *bā'ith*. LE STRANGE says: "His work *Kitāb Bā'ith-an-Nufūs ila Ziyārat-al-Quds-al-Mahrūs* (Liber animos ad Hierosolyma bene servata visitanda excitans) is often quoted by Tāja-d-Dīn 'ABDA-L-WAHHĀB." (JRAS, XIX, p. 253.)²

As used by AS-SUYŪṬĪ in his lengthy 'History of Jerusalem', the *rauḍu-l-mugharras* gives us through the *iṭḥāf* another evidence of

¹ For this quotation I am indebted to Prof. TORREY's referring me to BROCKELMANN, II, p. 331, for CONRAD KOENIG, *Der Kitāb Muṣīr al-Garām ilā ziyāra al-Quds wa's-Šām*, dissertation, Leipzig, 1896, p. 15. Identity of this ABU 'L-QĀSIM would give another limit for placing ABU-L-MA'ĀLĪ. See also AHLWARDT, *Berlin Catalogue*, V, p. 405. STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polemische Schriften* p. 181, says: "Das Werk des Abu-l-Ma'ālī heisst bei H. Ch. iv. 451 n. 9139 فضائل القدس والشام, die Zeit des nur dort genannten Autors . . . ist nicht angegeben."

² The *rauḍu-l-mugharras fī faḍā'ili Baiti-l-Muqaddas* of Tāju-d-Dīn 'ABDU-L-WAHHĀB ibn Muḥammad al-Husaini (d. 875/1470) was written after a visit by the author to Jerusalem. It exists in Berlin, MS. No. 6098. See BROCKELMANN, II, p. 132, and *Berlin catalogue*, V, p. 409. REYNOLDS read the *mugharras* as *mufarras*.

the influence if IBNU-L-FIRKĀH (REYNOLDS, p. xviii): "That said author of *The Gardens of Exercise on the Virtues of the Baitu-l-Mukaddas* observes, 'I met with a book called *The Stirring up of Souls to the Pilgrimage to the Holy Place*, by the Shaikh Birhān Addīn-al-Kazari (sic),¹ who asserts in his Preface that for the Wonders of the Holy House he selected chiefly from the work called *the Lucid Book*, by the historian Bihā-Addīn-Ibn-Asākir, and a small portion from the book of Ibn-Al-Muāled (sic)-al-Mushrat (sic)-Ibn-Al-Mirjā-Al-Mukaddasī. Part of his work was transferred from this author; but the remainder from *The Lucid Book*."

For the *ithāfu-l-aḥiṣṣā* it is only needful to refer to the sources of information as to the number of extant MSS. in BROCKELMANN, II, p. 132, and the article by LE STRANGE, "Description of the Noble Sanctuary in Jerusalem," *JRAS*, XIX, new series, pp. 247-305; STEINSCHNEIDER, *Polem. Schriften*, pp. 169-76, and the translation by REYNOLDS. In addition to quoting or referring to the *bāʿiṭ* itself, the *ithāf* quotes also its two main sources, IBN ʿASĀKIR and ABU-L-MAʿĀLĪ. Further, it is remarkable to find in the *ithāf* through REYNOLDS' translation no less than 200 traditions with parallels in IBNU-L-FIRKĀH: These are evidently from that material which in the *bāʿiṭ* forms the summary chapter (XII) on Jerusalem and Palestine.

Because of similarity in name and in many instances of material, it may be supposed the *bāʿiṭ* also served the authors of the two *muṭīrs*.² The first is the *muṭīru-l-gharām ilā ziyārati-l-Quds wa-ṣ-Ṣhām* by Jamālu-d-Dīn Abu Maḥmūd Aḥmadu-L-MUQADDASĪ (714/1314-765/1364). The second is the *muṭīru-l-gharām li-ziyārati-l-Ḥalīl, ʿalaihi-s-salām*, by Abu-l-Fidāʾ Ishāqu-t-Tadmurī AL-ḤALĪLĪ, who died in 1430.

The large number of existing MSS. that have found their way into Occidental collections is also an attestation of the popularity and widespread influence of the *bāʿiṭ*. It was republished by

¹ REYNOLDS reads the name *al-Fazūrī* variously as *al-Thezari* and *al-Kezari*. DE GUIGNES (*Notices et Extraits*) also has trouble with this "fā" and provides additional "marvels" in the *nisba*.

² Both of the *muṭīrs* are extant (see BROCK.). I have edited the latter on the basis of the Yale Landberg copy, a splendid MS., with collation by aid of two copies from the British Museum and two in the Bibliothèque Nationale. The text is yet to be published.

copying many times over. First, there is the Yale Landberg copy, which, I believe, is the earliest and best of all in existence. It is dated 882 A.H., (1477). Then, the Leiden copy, undated (No. 1836, catalogue by DE GOEJE and JUYNBOLL, 1907, II, p. 80). Next the Paris copy, an exquisitely beautiful MS., but clearly late and untrustworthy as well as defective at the end.¹ Then, no less than six copies are found in the Staats-Bibliothek in Berlin, though most of them are imperfect and none appears to be older than 1591 (the oldest itself being fragmentary).²

The British Museum library has two copies of the *bā'it*, as I discovered by reference to RIEU's *Supplement to the Catalogue of the Arabic MSS.*, and to ELLIS and EDWARDS, *A Descriptive List*, etc. The MSS. are numbered Oriental 4371 and Oriental 5813. The former is marked as "anonymous," for it begins without title or author's name. I discovered it to be a copy of the *bā'it* only because my eye happened to fall on the beginning lines as cited in the catalogue. The copy is bound with three other short works, all of which BUDGE, in a catalogue note, says were "written by several hands... apparently in the 17th and 18th centuries."

The second British Museum copy, though acquired later, is plainly older than the first. It is described by ELLIS and EDWARDS as "a treatise on the sanctity of Jerusalem and Hebron and the merit of visiting their shrines, by Burhān ad-Dīn AL-FAZĀRĪ (d. A. H. 690)." It is bound in Oriental 5813 with a short work, *lawāḥiqu-l-manāsik*, an anonymous manual of the laws relating to pilgrimage, said to date from the 16th century. This agrees also with the appearance of the *bā'it*. The style of *ḥaṭṭ* is Persian. The inner title has على زيارة The ending is defective, breaking off (though with full page and line) in the first copy of the

¹ See DE GUIGNES, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi*, etc., Paris, 1790, III, p. 605 f., where the MS. is described and chapter headings and brief summaries are given in French. Also, DE SLANE's *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes*, Paris, 1883—1895, III, p. 605, No. 2254, 1⁰; or Fonds Arabe 836. The Paris copy is like MS. No. 6094 (4), Berlin, in having an extra chapter on the *Merits of 'Asqalān*.

² See AHLWARDT's *Catalogue*, V, MS. 6093, f., where chapter headings and beginnings and endings of several are given; and where AHLWARDT corrects ascription of No. 6093 by SPRENGER to IBNU-L-JAUZĪ.

Prophet's purported written grant of Hebron, etc., الدارين.¹

The *bā'it* may also be found elsewhere without title or identification of author in addition to British Museum No. 4371 as noted above (and Berlin No. 6093). For instance, in *Mélanges de l'Université de St. Joseph*, Beirut, VII, p. 258; and MS. No. 12 (2) in AHLWARDT's *Kurzes Verzeichnis der Landberg'schen Sammlung arab. Handschriften* (Berlin, 1885). Without doubt, copies could also be found in other Occidental and Oriental libraries.²

The Leiden text is a beautifully clear MS. written in a fine hand (though not meriting quite the praise which DE GUIGNES gives the Paris copy justly in this respect). There is no missing last page as STEINSCHNEIDER thought (*Polemische Schriften* p. 181). While the Leiden copy has a number of readings inferior to those of the Yale text, with also lacunae and abbreviations, yet it in several cases gives material assistance on doubtful points. This aid was especially useful in determining the order in a few places where the copyist of the Yale MS. made slips and had to add what he had forgotten in the margin. The abbreviations of the Leiden copy are especially notable in case of the chapter headings of his sources which IBN AL-FIRKĀḤ often cites. The Leiden MS., also, follows immediately a work on David and Solomon, identical with that which the Paris copy precedes. The name of the copyist appears in the colophon, but unfortunately not the date. I should judge 17th century, or possibly 16th.

The Yale text is a separate little volume, bound in oriental style, with a flap end-cover. It has thirty-six folios, 5 in. by ca.

¹ One of the peculiarities of M² on an important point is that in the story of the grant by Mohammed to Tamīm ad-Dārī and his clan Tamīm is represented as preferring not Beit Jibrīl of the other MSS. but Beit Ḥabrūn, or Hebron itself. This could come in only after the confusion in the story had arisen as attested by the wrong reading of the Yale copy where Mohammed is said to approve the wish of Tamīm (see p. 41 of the text).

² Since writing the above I came across reference to three copies in Constantinople. See FELIX TAUER, "Geographisches aus den Stambuler Bibliotheken (Arab. Hds.)," in *Archiv Orientalní*, or *Journal of the Czecho-Slovak Oriental Institute*, VI, 95. One, Nūr-i 'Osmāniyye 3400, is of the 9th century A. H., like Y. Another, Aja Šōfja 3469 is dated 1100 A. H. The third, Aja Šōfja 3340/6, is undated. A copy of IBNU-L-FIRKĀḤ's *iqlām* is also listed, Lāleli 3656/10, dated 1041 A. H.

6³/₄ in. The title, chapter headings, and practically all the references for traditions are given in red ink. The MS. is unusually clear, in a large and legible (through not elegant) hand. There are two or three bad smudges. In addition to corrections of his ellipses in the margins, the copyist more than once corrected himself in the text itself. Evidently the pages were trimmed after the book was bound and in use; for marginal notations are in several instances cut in two.¹ The little book has been remarkably well preserved for its 456 years. Its general excellence makes it a pity the text has found mention in none of the works of reference, not even in a catalogue.

The basic cause for Muslim veneration of Palestine is adaptation of so much from Judaism and Christianity. Throughout its history, sentiment in Islam has been fervent toward Jerusalem, the city of the Prophets, and Hebron, the city of Abraham who was the builder of the Kaʿaba itself, and the first Muslim. But it is the famous *isrāʾ* or "Night-Journey" story of the Prophet which sanctifies Jerusalem, as could nothing else, whether interpretation is orthodox and literal or rationalistic and liberal.² Having insufficient space here in to include a summary of the traditions in the *bāʿit* as to the holiness of Jerusalem and Palestine, I must only give reference to my paper in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, LI, part ii, 1932, p. 171, and an article of a popular nature in the *Asia Magazine*, April, 1932.³

It is also needless to discuss here the vexed question of the location of the various spots of veneration in the Ḥaram aš-Šarīf, on which conflicting evidence is given by several of the Arab authors. I shall only refer to LE STRANGE (*Palestine*, 173), who gives extended information of the shifting of names and gates and even structures, through the centuries. His notes are based on a paper

¹ By itself on the last page of the book is a poem of fourteen lines on Jerusalem, evidently composed by a later pilgrim, more pious than literary. There are two lines also, at the bottom of the title page.

² See Sura XVII, 1, One of the best popular accounts is that in IRVING's still useful book, *The Life of Mahomet*. See also LE STRANGE, *Palestine*, p. 166. Also YAʿQŪBĪ's *History* for an interesting account of the Jeroboam-like policies of the Caliph ʿAbdu-l-Malik, builder of the Dome of the Rock.

³ Similarity of these traditions of sanctity and beliefs in merit of visits and religious rites with Jewish traditions will be recognized immediately.

by Col. Sir C. WILSON (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1888); see also LE STRANGE, *JRAS*, cited above, and his appendix from WILSON in his translation of NĀṢIR-I-KHUSRAU's diary of travel in the *Palestine Pilgrims Texts*).

It is remarkable that IBNU-L-FIRKĀH included no more of the many accounts of the visit of the Caliph 'Umar to Jerusalem at the time of the capitulation of the city than the brief reference in chapter eight. Also, that in the final chapter on Hebron and the tombs of the Patriarchs he did not include at least one of the accounts of purported visits to the tombs themselves underneath the mosque. Several such accounts (in which the Patriarch-Prophets are found in a living state! occur in the *muṭīru-l-gharām* of ABU-L-FIDĀ' of Hebron. IBNU-L-FIRKĀH is content, however, to give the story of the grant of Hebron by Mohammed to the Dārī clan, and to let the purported documents from the Prophet himself serve as his authentication of the tombs.¹

One of the most disturbing points in the text has been that in connection with this story. The sense is clear, however, that when the clan members were divided in their preferences, Tamīm wishing to ask for Beit Jibrīn and Abu Hind for Hebron, the Prophet approved the wish of Abu Hind. The prominence of Tamīm in the clan has probably been the cause of the confusion.

Identification of the great number of individuals throughout the text I have generally left unnoted, because they can all be found in such books of references as: YĀQŪT's *Biographical Dictionary*; IBN KHALIKĀN; the *tahqību-t-tahqīb* (by IBN ḤAJAR, Hyderabad, 1325 A. H.); the *kitāb al-muraṣṣa'* of IBNU-L-ATĪR; *al-muṣṭabih* of AD-DAHABĪ (ed. DE JONG), etc.

The text as made for this edition was based on the Yale MS. with collation by photostatic copy of the Leiden MS., and occasional assistance as found in notations in catalogues, etc. Collation with the two copies in London and that in Paris was made in September, 1933. Because nearly all points of doubt were cleared

¹ See F. A. KRENKOW, "The Grant of Land by Muhammad to Tamīm-ad-Dārī," *Islamica*, I, 1924-25, pp. 529-32; also text of the *muṭīr* which I hope soon to publish; also MAQRĪZĪ, *ad-daw'u-s-sārī li-ma'rifat ḥabar Tamīmī-d-Dārī*, a good copy of which I have from the Yale MS., and a text or study of which I hope to make.

previously, reference is made in this edition to the Paris and London MSS. only where necessary, important or of special interest. Slight and unimportant divergences, even between the Yale and the Leiden texts, are sometimes passed over. The total result, I hope, is a clear text, without major problems, almost universally interesting through attachment of Jews, Christians, and Muslims to Palestine.

I wish to thank the Legatum Warnerianum, Department of Oriental MSS. of the Leiden University Library, for supplying me with photostatic copy of the text there. I thank also the authorities of the British Museum Library and the Bibliothèque Nationale for the kind assistance and privileges allowed during collation work on the *bā'it* and the *muḥīr*.

I cannot thank sufficiently Professor Charles C. Torrey for his counsel, encouragement, and instruction.

DIE WANDERUNG PALÄSTINISCH-SYRISCHER GÖTTER NACH OST UND WEST IM ZWEITEN VORCHRISTLICHEN JAHRTAUSEND¹

OTTO EISSFELDT

(HALLE)

Wir sind es gewohnt, Palästina und Syrien für die letzten vor- und die ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte als die Wiege großer Religionen zu betrachten. Nicht nur das Judentum und das Christentum, die dann ihrerseits wieder für die Entstehung des Islams von ausschlaggebender Bedeutung geworden sind, sind damals von hier ausgegangen, sondern auch die Kulte der syrischen Sonnengötter, die weithin das römische Imperium beherrscht haben. Aber es war damals nicht das erste Mal, daß Palästina-Syrien die Umwelt religiös aufs stärkste beeinflußt hat. Vielmehr wird es klarer und klarer, daß schon ein bis zwei Jahrtausende vorher Palästina und Syrien religiöse Zentren von weitreichender Bedeutung gewesen sind. Daß wir in dieser Beziehung jetzt sehr viel deutlicher sehen können als frühere Geschlechter, das verdanken wir in allererster Linie der in Palästina und Syrien während der letzten drei oder vier Jahrzehnte geleisteten Arbeit, einer Arbeit, die sich in der Palestine Oriental Society ein bedeutsames, alle Nationen und Konfessionen umfassendes Zentrum geschaffen hat.

Ganz neu ist die Erkenntnis von der hohen religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung Syriens auch schon im zweiten Jahrtausend freilich nicht. Vielmehr war man schon vor 80—100 Jahren und auch vorher sehr stark geneigt, manches Phänomen der griechisch-römischen Kultur und insbesondere ihrer Mythologie und Religion aus Palästina-Syrien herzuleiten. Man dachte damals ausschließlich an Phönizien als den Ausgangspunkt dieser Einflüsse und wollte, wie in allen möglichen geographischen Namen der Mittelmeerländer, so auch in mancher

¹ Grundlinien eines bei der 57. Generalversammlung der Palestine Oriental Society am 11. Mai, 1933 gehaltenen Vortrages.

Gestalt des griechisch-römischen Mythos phönizisches Gut finden. Ein „mirage phénicien“ hatte damals die gelehrte Welt ergriffen. Der Rückschlag gegen diesen Taumel konnte nicht ausbleiben. Die ernstere Sprachwissenschaft erkannte, daß eine Fülle der Herleitungen griechischer und lateinischer Worte aus dem Phönizischen oder dem Semitischen überhaupt haltlos waren. Die Angaben klassischer Schriftsteller über Zusammenhänge des griechischen Mythos mit dem phönizischen aber sind größtenteils literarisch so jung, daß — so schien es nun wenigstens — sie für die ältere Zeit, in der die Entlehnungen stattgefunden haben mußten, nichts besagen konnten. Es trat also der Gegenschlag ein, und man versuchte nun, unter Verzicht auf Herleitung mancher Elemente aus dem Orient, die griechisch-römische Kultur und Religion aus sich allein heraus zu verstehen.

Da ist es die Archäologie gewesen, die wiederum einen Wandel herbeigeführt hat. Für eine Zeit, aus der vorher nicht eine einzige wirklich beglaubigte Nachricht zur Verfügung gestanden hatte, für das zweite Jahrtausend vor Christus und für noch ältere Zeiten, konnte sie, dank der Arbeit des Spatens, eine Fülle von Dokumenten vorlegen, deren stumme (bei textlosen Funden) oder laute (bei Texten) Sprache ganz unmißverständlich einen sehr engen Zusammenhang zwischen Orient und Okzident in dieser frühen Zeit bezeugte. Die Einflüsse — man denke nur an die Keramik!¹ — gehen hin und her. Aber in der Religion — so scheint es — geht der Zug eher von Ost nach West als umgekehrt, oder genauer: hier erwies sich Palästina-Syrien im besonderen Sinne als gebend, und zwar sowohl nach Osten hin als nach Westen. Das für religiöse Vorstellungen und Bräuche nachzuweisen, ist zunächst schwer, da hier beim Vorliegen ähnlicher Erscheinungen immer mit der Möglichkeit von selbständigen Analogiebildungen zu rechnen ist. Aber beweisbar ist religiöser Einfluß, wenn sich zeigen läßt, daß Götter und ihre Kulte von einem Punkte zum anderen gewandert sind. Eben das läßt sich in unserem Falle zeigen: wir treffen im 2. Jahrtausend und später in Ost und West viele Götter, die ihren Ursprung in Palästina gehabt und sich von hier aus ausgebreitet haben, oder, falls sie —

¹ Vgl. außer den Büchern zur palästinischen Archäologie von BENZINGER, THOMSEN, WATZINGER, S.A. COOK, ALBRIGHT, BARTON und anderen den Aufsatz von HEMPEL, „Westliche Kultureinflüsse auf das älteste Palästina“ (*PJB* 23, 1927, S. 52—92).

was bei dem einen oder andern zutreffen könnte — auch in Palästina-Syrien nicht autochthon sind, hier doch jedenfalls ihre Expansionskraft erhalten haben.

Eine ganze Reihe von Forschern¹ — daran darf zunächst erinnert werden — hat zu zeigen unternommen, daß Bethel, bevor es Jahwe-Heiligtum geworden, Sitz eines kanaanäischen Gottes gewesen ist, der „El von Bethel“ oder auch geradezu nur „Bethel“ geheißen hat. Von diesem Gott wissen wir nicht nur, daß er im 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. von der jüdischen Militärkolonie in Elephantine verehrt worden, also spätestens im 7. Jahrhundert von den Begründern der Kolonie dorthin mitgenommen worden ist, sondern er ist uns auch als in Phönizien-Syrien und in Assyrien verehrt bezeugt, und die Zeugnisse sind derartig, daß man die Ausbreitung dieses Kultes schon im 2. Jahrtausend ansetzen muß.

Bis in diese Zeit reicht sicherlich auch die Ausbreitung der Verehrung des Gottes vom Thabor² zurück. Der Spruch aus dem Mose-Segen Deuteronomium 33¹⁸⁻¹⁹

„Freu dich, Sebulon, deiner Fahrten

Und du, Isaschar, deiner Zelte!

Völker laden sie ein auf den Berg;

Dort opfern sie rechte Opfer.

Denn den Überfluß des Meeres saugen sie

Und die verborgensten Schätze des Sandes”

setzt voraus, daß Sebulon und Isaschar auf dem Thabor — dieser Berg ist hier gemeint³ — dem Jahwe Opfer darbringen. Denn sonst wären die hier üblichen Opfer bestimmt nicht „rechte Opfer“ genannt. Aber, wie überall, wird man auch hier annehmen müssen, daß dem Kulte Jahwes der eines kanaanäischen Gottes vorangegangen ist, und diese Annahme wird durch Hosea 5², wo der Prophet von einem „auf dem Thabor ausgespannten Netze“ redet und damit gegen den hier geübten Kult polemisiert⁴, zur Gewißheit erhoben.

¹ Zuletzt EISSFELDT, „Der Gott Bethel“ (*ARW* 28, 1930, S. 1—30).

² Vergleiche dazu jetzt EISSFELDT: „Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung“ (*ARW* 31, 1934, S. 14—41).

³ Vgl. BUDDE, *Der Segen Moses, Deut. 33*, 1922, S. 39. 49.

⁴ Vgl. zu der Stelle jetzt BUDDE, „Zu Text und Auslegung des Buches Hosea. 3. Kap. 5¹—6⁸. Falscher und rechter Jahwedienst“ (*JPOS* 14, 1934, S. 1—41), S. 2—7.

Bei dem Propheten hat sich offenbar die Erinnerung an den kanaanäischen Ursprung des Kultes erhalten, und eben darum lehnt er ihn ab, während der Autor des Spruches aus dem Mose-Segen diese Erinnerung verloren hat oder es doch für möglich hält, daß der alte, nun dem Jahwe zugeeignete Kult sich auch wirklich vom Geiste der Jahwe-Religion durchdringen lassen werde. Dieser kanaanäische Gott vom Thabor nun, also der *ba'al tābôr*, wie wir ihn getrost nennen dürfen, hat sich in alter Zeit weit nach Westen hin ausgebreitet und als Zeus Atabyrios auf Rhodos wie auf Sizilien Verehrung gefunden. Die Stelle des Mosesegens zeigt ganz deutlich, wie die Ausbreitung dieses Kultes vor sich gegangen ist: in Anlehnung an den Verkehr zu Wasser und zu Lande, also an See- und Karawanenhandel.

Mit dem *ba'al tābôr* sind wir zu den Göttern gekommen, die Herren von Bergen waren und in der Fremde, wohin immer sie vordrangen, auch auf Bergen oder Erhebungen verehrt worden sind, die dann — mochten sie dem Heimatsberg gegenüber auch noch so niedrig sein — doch mit dessen Namen benannt wurden, ganz ähnlich wie es im Christentum überall Kalvarienberge in Miniaturgröße gibt. Hierher gehört der uns auch aus Philo Byblios oder Sanchun-jathon bekannte *ba'al lebānôn*, den wir nicht nur auf Zypern, sondern auch bei Karthago wiederfinden. Größere Bedeutung hat der *ba'al šāpôn*¹ erlangt, der uns jetzt durch die Ras Schamra-Texte für die Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends bezeugt und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach als Gott des zwischen Antiochien und Laodicea gelegenen Dschebel Aqrā, des späteren Kasios-Berges, zu verstehen ist. Sein Kult ist im Ostjordanland und weiter im Osten bei den Assyriern bezeugt. Stärker aber war sein Einfluß nach Westen hin, wo wir ihn nicht nur in Ägypten finden, sondern auch in Karthago. Bedenkt man, daß dieser Gott mit Zeus Kasios identisch ist, so wird seine Bedeutung vollends klar. Denn Zeus Kasios hat eine ganz weite Verbreitung gefunden und ist an vielen Punkten des Mittelmeergebietes, namentlich auf Vorgebirgen, als Schiffergott verehrt worden.

Zu den Berggöttern gehört sehr wahrscheinlich auch der *ba'al*

¹ Vgl. EISSFELDT, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer*, 1932.

hammān. Denn die ältesten Belege, die wir für diesen Gott haben¹, stammen aus der Gegend des Amanus und dienen der schon früher ausgesprochenen, aber wenig beachteten Vermutung zur Bestätigung, daß er von Haus aus der Gott des Amanus ist. Von hier aus hat er sich bis ans Westende des Mittelmeeres ausgebreitet, was vor allem der phönizischen Kolonisation zu verdanken ist. Bei den Karthagern war er der größte Gott. Seine Bedeutung für die Weltgeschichte aber wird klar, sobald man sich daran erinnert, daß es dieser Gott gewesen, zu dem Alexander in die Ammonsoase gezogen ist, um sich von ihm adoptieren und sich die Weltherrschaft verheißen zu lassen. Denn der Gott jenes Oasenheiligtums, das übrigens erhöht liegt², ist von Haus aus schwerlich der ägyptische Amon, mit dem er dann freilich später verschmolzen ist, sondern der Ba'al des Amanos, der von der libyschen Mittelmeerküste aus seinen Weg in die Oase angetreten hat.

Daß Syrien schon im 2. Jahrtausend vor Christus Ausgangspunkt von Kulte und Gottesvorstellungen gewesen ist, die für die Folgezeit von größter Bedeutung werden sollten, würde dann recht deutlich werden, wenn es sich bewahrheiten sollte, daß die Ras Schamra-Texte auch einen Gott *Jw*, also *Jau* oder *Jo*³, erwähnen. Denn dann ließe es sich nicht mehr bestreiten, daß es dieser *Jau* ist, der in dem altbabylonischen Personennamen *Jaum-AN* und in dem Namen des *Jau-bi'di* von Hamath aus dem 8. Jahrh. v. Chr. steckt, und daß vor allem der *Jao* auf den Abrasax-Gemmen, den Bleifluchtafeln und den Zauberpapyri der ersten vier oder fünf nachchristlichen Jahrhunderte nicht allein auf den jüdischen Jahwe-Jaho zurückgeführt werden kann, sondern auch aus dem Weiterleben des syrischen *Jau* erklärt werden muß. Die von vielen, besonders eindrücklich von BAUDISSIN⁴ vertretene Meinung, daß in allen *Jao* oder

¹ Inschrift des Kalamu aus dem 9. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (vgl. LIDZBARSKI, *Ephemeris*, III, S. 218—238) und je ein Text aus den in Ras Schamra 1929 und 1930 gemachten Funden, vgl. HROZNÝ, "Une Inscription de Ras Šamra en langue churrite" (*Archiv Orientalni*, 4, 1932, S. 118—129).

² STEINDORFF, RICKE und AUBIN, „Der Orakeltempel in der Ammonsoase“ (*Z. Aeg. Spr.* 69, 1933, S. 1—24).

³ Vgl. DUSSAUD, "Le Sanctuaire et les Dieux phéniciens de Ras Shamra" (*RHR*, 105, 1932, S. 245—302) S. 247 und HANS BAUER, „Die Gottheiten von Ras Schamra“ (*ZAW* 51, 1933, S. 81—101), S. 92—94.

⁴ *Kyrios* II, 1929, S. 189—236. Vgl. auch EISSFELDT, „Jahwe-Name und Zauberwesen“ (*ZMR*, 42, 1927, S. 161—186).

ähnlich lautenden Gottes—und in allen dies als theophores Element enthaltenden Personen-Namen Varianten des jüdischen Gottesnamens zu erkennen wären, müßte dann als widerlegt aufgegeben werden. Das ist ja längst aufgefallen und auch von BAUDISSIN keineswegs übersehen worden, daß der *Jao* jener Gemmen, Tafeln und Papyri merkwürdig viele sonnenhafte Züge aufweist, aber man glaubte das damit erklären zu können, daß, wie andere Götter, so auch der jüdische Jahwe in der Zeit des hellenistisch-römischen Synkretismus zum Sonnengott geworden sei. Das *Jo* der Ras Schamra-Texte legt nun die viel einleuchtendere Erklärung nahe, daß in dem *Jao* der Zaubertexte neben dem jüdischen Gott, dessen Anteil freilich sehr groß ist, auch der alte syrische Sonnengott weiterlebt, daß hier also die beiden in eins zusammengefloßen sind. Was insbesondere die Abrasax-Gemmen mit ihrem *Jao* angeht, so sind bei ihrer bildlichen Darstellungen ja die sonnenhaften Züge ganz deutlich, und PROCOPE-WALTER¹ hat unlängst gezeigt, daß diese Gemmen auf Syrien und nicht, wie man bisher anzunehmen geneigt war, auf Ägypten als auf ihren Herkunftsort verweisen.

Mit den Göttern sind bestimmt die an ihren Kulturen haftenden Vorstellungen und Bräuche gewandert, und so muß Palästina-Syrien auch als Ausgangspunkt für diese in Ansatz gebracht werden. Da die Ausbreitung mancher Götter von hier jetzt sicher feststellbar ist, wird die künftige Forschung auch viel ernster als bisher damit rechnen dürfen, daß viele religiöse Ideen und Observanzen auf das Syrien des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. zurückgehen.

Trotz ihrer Knappheit genügen diese Andeutungen doch vielleicht, um zu zeigen, daß die während der letzten Jahrzehnte in Palästina-Syrien gemachten archäologischen Entdeckungen unser Bild vom Verlauf der antiken Religionsgeschichte tiefgreifend umgestaltet haben, und darauf vorzubereiten, daß dieser Umbildungsprozeß noch weitere Fortschritte machen wird. Die religionsgeschichtliche Forschung hat also allen Grund, der archäologischen Arbeit für die von ihr ausgegangenen Anregungen dankbar zu sein. Andererseits darf es die Religionsgeschichte für sich in Anspruch nehmen, daß sie die archäologische Arbeit, zum mindesten die in Palästina-Syrien getriebene,

¹ „Jao und Set“ (*ARW* 30, 1933, S. 34—69). Vgl. aber auch PIEPER, „Die Abrasaxgemmen“ (*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*, V, 2, 1934, S. 119—143).

immer wieder auf ein letztes Ziel aufmerksam macht und ihr zugleich eine besondere Weihe verleiht. Wenn hier so eifrig archäologisch gearbeitet wird, so hat das doch letztlich darin seinen Grund, daß von Palästina-Syrien Religionen ausgegangen sind, die noch heute leben und vielen Millionen von Menschen Mut und Kraft, Trost und Erhebung bieten, ja, die Sinnggebung ihres Lebens bedeuten. Unter diesen Umständen darf es die archäologische Arbeit ihrerseits nicht vergessen, daß sie als Dank für die ihr von ihnen zukommenden Antriebe zu einem geschichtlichen Verständnis dieser Religionen mitzuwirken verpflichtet ist. Einen wichtigen Beitrag dazu bedeutet aber die Erkenntnis der Kulte, die der biblischen Religion vorangegangen sind und diese, auch wo sie von ihr bekämpft worden sind, doch nicht ganz unbeeinflusst gelassen haben.

BOOK REVIEWS

S.D.F. GOITEIN, *Jemenica*. Sprichwörter und Redensarten aus Zentral-Jemen mit zahlreichen Sach- und Worterläuterungen. 1934. Kommissionsverlag von Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig; pp. XXIII+194.

The book is divided into three parts: an introduction, 1432 proverbs and an index. The first part deals with the origin of the Yemenite proverbs, their similarity to pan-Arabic proverbs, the pronunciation, syntax and grammar of the Yemenite language. Every proverb of the second part is given with its translation. A vast number are more fully explained through parallels and notes. The index is a welcome addition, as it enables the student to find the proverbs describing nearly every phase of Yemenite life. This collection, which is good proof of the great industry of the author, is scientifically interesting and important: It teaches the Yemenite dialect, explains in a vivid way the psychology of the people and throws light on their mode of life, their superstitions and beliefs. The author is to be congratulated on this achievement. In this book, the student of Arabic dialects will find a mine of information and the student of comparative philology the solution of many problems. A great advantage is the exact transcription of the Arabic words.

Many Arabic expressions which are in common use in Yemen are derived from the classical language, but are not known to the dialects of the part of the Arabic speaking world in and around Palestine. Others are neither known to the classical language nor used in Palestine, Syria or Transjordan. It would have added greatly to the value of this treatise if all such expressions were more carefully treated, for their study might help in finding some remnants of the old Semitic languages which once prevailed in the Arabic peninsula.

It is to be regretted that the translation has not been done more carefully, to enable the student to find the exact meaning of each word. It would also have been more helpful to give the intended

idea of a proverb in brackets, whenever the literal translation of the same gives a vague meaning. Some such examples are¹:

- No. 11. The translation of *bainâthum el-bain*, "separation (or death) is between them," was omitted. Footnote is incorrect. We do not have here *توكيد لفظي* like *شذر مذر*, *حسن بن* (see ZDMG, vol. 70 (1916), p. 170).
150. *dalîlîn* (p. 30) does not mean "weichherzig" but "unterwürfig, verachtet" (submissive, contemptible).
220. Read "die" instead of "sein". In No. 1375 read "der" instead of "die".
230. *ibn al-ḥair, ualau fiqir, mâ 'aṭîr* should be translated "The son of a good (rich and noble) family will not stumble (in his character) even if he becomes poor". Compare with the proverb *ḥôḍ min 'id kânat matlâneḥ ufiqrat ualâ tōḥîḍ min 'id kânat faqîrah uimtalat*.
305. *hâ'im* is "wandering about aimlessly, bewildered, stupified". This curse means "May you (always) wander aimlessly around and never have a (refreshing) sleep (which follows a quiet state of mind)".
391. *ḥaqarûk uanaqarûk (ual-'aṣî qabarûk)* is better translated as "They have despised you and quarrelled with you (and at evening time they buried you)".
409. *ḥûrî udûrî ualâ bait al-iahûdî*, "Go to and fro and round about but (do) not (enter) the house of the Jew".
419. Substitute "Kenntnis" for "Wesen".
475. *Muḥîṭ* p. 145, explains *al-baun* as *مرج خصيب في بلاد فارس يوصف بالنضارة حتى يقال انه احدى الجنان الاربع*.
491. The deep and beautiful meaning of the proverb *radjdjâl min 'aṣab ualâ marâḥ min qaṣab* has been missed. The translation should be "A sinewed (thin and strong) man and not (i.e. is better than) a woman (made) of gold-threads (i.e. beautiful)". For *qaṣab* see *Muḥîṭ*, p. 1715, and the Palestinian dialect. *Qaṣab* means also reeds but such a translation makes the proverb lose all its figurative meaning. Proverb 492 gives the same idea.
537. *as-sit(r) bimâ-star âllah*, denotes "The (real) concealment

¹ The transcription given below is that of the reviewer.

(from shame and weakness) is (only) that with which God conceals (a person)". One of God's names is *sattâr*, Concealer.

570. *as-sam(n) isum(m) kull uadjac*, "Samneh (butter) poisons every ailment". The translation of the author gives the correct meaning but not the correct translation of the words.
640. *ṣāḥubak al-auual lâ yighurrak (a)t-tânî*, "Your first friend (is the best one) do not let the second deceive you".
654. This proverb is more correctly translated "(To hear) your voice is more agreeable than (to see) your figure (face)".
673. This is a blessing and not a curse. *Bḥaqq* means "by the truth of" and not "von dem Kraftaufwand".
817. A more correct rendering would be "His actions are mighty (but) his punishment is merciful".
848. The translation should be "Our table (of food) has drawn near. Every one who wants to eat (should do so) since (this meal) is counted (as a meal for every present person)". Compare with the Palestinian proverb *insamat 'alêk kôl ubaḥliq 'enêk*.

No reasons are given why the proverbs 1, 76, 258-262, 265, 266, 1316 are thought to be of Jewish origin. Nearly all the proverbs describing seasons or agricultural rules and used by the peasants of Palestine are connected with Christian and not with Mohammedan feasts, although the Moslems form the greater part of the population of the East. Such proverbs are known and used all over the country. The reasons for the use of such dates have been given by the reviewer at another place.

A drawback of most collections of proverbs is that they are generally mixed with idioms, curses and blessings. The author of this book has followed the same method. It would have been advantageous to place all sayings which are not pure proverbs at the end of every section, thus enabling the student from the very beginning to differentiate a proverb from a saying.

In going through this magnificent collection one finds a great number of proverbs which have their parallels in Palestine. The author has given here and there some references to such parallels. But there are a great many more, which have been already recorded in different folklore articles of the *Journal of the Palestine Oriental*

Society. It is a pity that this *Journal* has not been consulted more frequently, since a comparison with Palestinian proverbs, customs, superstitions and beliefs would have been one of the best ways to lead to a better understanding of many interesting points in the Yemenite life and beliefs. Such are the subjects of *el-madjdûb*, *umm es-şubiân*, coitus with a menstruant, the *qird*, *maşhad*, and the drinking of souls and of birds from cups engraved on tombs.

T. CANAAN.

SCHMIDT, HANS, *Der Heilige Fels in Jerusalem*. Eine archäologische und religionsgeschichtliche Studie. Mit 8 Tafeln und 5 Grundrissen. J.C.B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), Tübingen. 1933. VIII, 102, 8 plates, 5 plans.

Eingangs (S. 3-5) bringt SCH. einige Zitate der fast allgemein vertretenen Ansicht, daß der heilige Fels in der sog. Omar-Moschee zu Jerusalem die Stätte des Brandopferaltares im Tempel des Salomo, des Serubbabel und des Herodes gewesen sei. Es folgt (S. 7-16) eine genaue Beschreibung des Felsens in seiner jetzigen Gestalt, wobei SCH. ein Hauptaugenmerk auf jene sogenannte Rinne richtet, die immer wieder zu der Brandopferaltartheorie Anlaß gegeben hat, und weist darauf hin, daß der hier gemeinte Felseinschnitt austatt dessen nicht dazu dienen konnte, eine Flüssigkeit, die auf dem Felsen vergossen wurde, aufzunehmen. In den restlichen Kapiteln der kleinen aus zwei Vorträgen herausgewachsenen Broschüre (S. 17-102) wird sodann der Versuch unternommen, einer älteren Ansicht zum Siege zu verhelfen, nach der man im Felsen die Stelle des Allerheiligsten vor sich habe.

An Hand der Maßangaben des FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS (B. J. V) und hauptsächlich der Mischna (Traktat Middoth) über den Herodianischen Tempel errechnet SCH., daß das Allerheiligste dieses Tempels über dem jetzigen heiligen Fels gewesen sein muß. Voraussetzung dieser Berechnung ist für den Verfasser die Annahme, daß das Nikanortor am östlichen Rande der heutigen Terasse anzusetzen ist. Ob diese *conditio sine qua non* ganz sicher steht, ist eine Frage; der Ver-

fasser selbst schreibt S. 25 sehr vorsichtig „wenn unser Ausgangspunkt richtig ist“.

Daß im Tempel des Salomo und des Serubbabel das Allerheiligste auch über dem Fels gelegen gewesen sei, erklärt SCH. nicht nur aus dem Gesetz der Stetigkeit, nach dem man sakrale Bauten immer an derselben Stelle erbaute, sondern er stützt sich auch auf die Bauberichte über die Tempel Salomos und Serubbabels, die dieser Ansicht nicht widerstreiten. Ob die hier herangezogenen Stellen des Alten Testaments, wie SCH. meint, auch seine Theorie stützen, möchte ich nicht behaupten.

Weiterhin erhärtet der Verfasser seine Auffassung über den Felsen an dessen Eigentümlichkeiten (künstliche Bearbeitung an der Westseite, „Rinne“ Vertiefungen auf der Oberfläche des Felsens, Höhle). Am besten dürfte wohl in diesem ganzen Fragenkomplex die Bemerkung sein, daß die scharfgeschnittene Weststufe des Felsens zur Auffügung der westlichen Zederbretterwand des Allerheiligsten diene.

Über die in dem Schlußkapitel „Der Fels in der Geschichte der Religion“ behandelten Worte des Alten und Neuen Testaments kann man hier und da anderer Ansicht sein. Das hindert aber nicht, daß die kleine Abhandlung über den Felsen sehr gut geeignet sein kann, die augenblicklich vorherrschende Altarhypothese ernsthaft ins Wanken zu bringen.

J. POHL

Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen an der Universität Berlin. Beiband zum Jahrgang XXXVI. 5000 *arabische Sprichwörter aus Palästina*. Arabischer Text in der Volkssprache in vokalisierter arabischer Schrift aufgenommen, mit schriftarabischen Erklärungen versehen und im Zusammenwirken mit Pfarrer Lic. Dr. M. THILO und Professor Dr. G. KAMPFFMEYER herausgegeben von Pastor SA'ID 'ABBŪD in Bethlehem. Berlin, 1933, Gruyter. Printed at the Syrian Orphanage Press, Jerusalem. iv+262+5. Price RM. 8.

كتاب الطرفة الباهجة في الامثال والحكم العربية الدارجة. جمعه ووقف على طبعه القس سعيد عبود اشقر.

This collection of Arabic proverbs from Palestine, mainly hitherto unpublished, forms a welcome addition to similar existing collections. There are three types, the first of which is classical, with many variants in Meidānī's collection. Secondly, there is the bulk of Palestinian vernacular proverbs, which, though known in Syria and Egypt, and to some extent also in Mesopotamia, have been collected independently and are here commented on. There are among them about one hundred which show parallels (sometimes only translations) from Turkish. But there is no gainsaying that they are not Arabic. Thirdly, there are the expressions and idiomatic turns of speech which are not strictly proverbs. Many of them are still in an unformed and non-rhyming stage – a proof of their comparative novelty.

Two points deserve mention. The vernacular Arabic is transcribed in the inadequate Arabic characters. Although the Arabic is partly vowelled, —*o* and *e* being distinguished by a vertical stroke over them, — the fact remains, that a particular Arabic vernacular can be read only by him who masters it in speaking.

The following may illustrate this: *ta* of *ḥatta* is written throughout with a long *alif* (see 14, 68 and 3303); while *huss* requires a *sin* and not a *ṣād* (Dozy, *Supplément*, s.v.): *ʿa-ma* (*ʿala ma*) is written with two *alifs* (40), the short vowel of *ba-* in *baḥtum* is also represented with an *alif* (1058). The final *e* in *zalame* is rendered with a long *yā* throughout (2235/6, 3864, 4304, 4467 and 4931). *Naṣāra* is written once even with a *hā* (2754). *Ḥannūs* (1362) and *Mihmāše* (4801) both require a *ṣād*, and the Turkish *yoq* (2836) should be written with a *qāf*, while the classical form of *musāqaba* (4316) may be also written with a *ṣād*.

These proverbs are not intended for semasiological studies. They are on the whole written in a somewhat modified dialect of Jerusalem; *fellāḥi* idiom being also transcribed similarly (see relevant note in foreword). No attempt is made to give the provenance of the proverb, nor is there any classification according to subjects. This, it is understood, will be done in the forthcoming German translation. The arrangement is according to the Arabic alphabet.

There is an attempt to explain in simple classical Arabic some of these proverbs (more than 400) and to trace them to an event of everyday life or to illustrate them with an anecdote. This is

done successfully on the whole, though proverbs like the following should have also been explained, as they offer some difficulty:—578, 950, 1247–8, 1262, 1489, 1528 (chess!) 1540, 1623, 3440 and 4282. The last mentioned proverb is explained in a way contradictory to the general assumption.

Different explanations may also be given to the following proverbs: 1396 is said about a pious man in general. 1627 is a verse from *Arṭās* in which the married man describes the second wife, *ḍurra*, while 3093 is used to express contempt or indifference. 3140 refers to a “decent” man. 3155 signifies a person of no importance whatsoever.

A few corrections may be offered for inclusion in the German translation:—

46. *bahlawān*, rope dancer, for *bahlūl*.—51. *abūyi* for *abi*.—71. *ḡazz* for *šakk*.—421. i.e., you are fooled.—630... *bimūt fi ḡēr* ‘illto, i.e. has a different illness and death. Variant: *illi byōḥod*... (he who marries...).—873 substitute *klāb* for *ḥamīr*.—917. The original form of the verse runs إذا كان رب البيت بالدف ضارباً فثيمة أهل البيت كلهم الرقص. —1004. Or *ummit* ‘*Ali*.—1037. *‘ifin* is for smell, while *‘ifiš*, *‘ikiš* is for ugliness.—1258. Printer’s error for *ḥawwāda*.—1287. *ḥalawēnto* for *ḥalōento*.—1310. *ayy* for *auw*. In 1328 the rhyme requires *ḥāra* for *mdīne*.—1455. Second *la* is a printer’s error.—1399. Variant: *bi-ūm*.—1826. Variant: twice *ḥsāb* for *ḥaki*.—1933. Variant: *rāḥat tulṭum fi ‘Ābūd* (she went bewailing the dead in ‘Ābūd).—2084. *ana rāḍi u ḥurwe rāḍi w-inte mālak yā ‘āḍi?* To an over inquisitive person, to mind his own business.—2205. The rhyme does not require the last word.—2375. Read also: *il-mista‘jil* for *il-‘ajale*.—2386. *is-sabbe*. (rhyme).—3639. The rhyme requires transposition of the last two words.—2457. Read *mšauwaš* for *zḡir*.—2762. Variant: *il-‘itāb šābūn il-aḥbāb*.—2798. l. 4 from bottom: *imharrij*.—3249. See *JPOS*, XI, p. 77.—3003. Variant: ... *sitt*, *sābe’t-unfus*.—3402. Read *qōlit* for *qōl*.—3493. Read *kull-mālo* for *kirmālo*.—3616. See *ZDPV.*, 1916, p. 214.—3639. The last two words should be transposed.—3665. Variant: *amīr* (twice).—3875. Represents two adages instead of one.—4019. Variant *illa* for *wala*.—4063. Cf. the saying (and belief) *mātāt uwolītak min šafāwit nītak*. *JPOS*, XI, 175, l. 1. 4172. The same miracle is related of the Syrian saint *Bar Šauma*. A similar trick is performed with pigeons by European conjurers visiting this country.—

4182. Variant: *mā btuḥkumš ʿala*.—4308. Two explanations may be offered for the word *lahh*, either it had originally a *qāf* (cf. *laqq* in *fō haʿʿo luʿʿo*), adapted to the rhyme; or it is derived from a verbal noun *lēḥa* (thrashing, beating); cf. *ʿāmat il-lēḥa*, the beating, thrashing of each other began. Incidentally, this seems to be a Kurdish loanword in vernacular Arabic. 4364. ... *byōkol tultēn il-ʿatle* (variant).—4364. Read *ḥimye* (diet) for *ḥimāye* (protection).—4386. *imʿattaʿ imwāṣṣal* is used for a rogue.—4475. Variant: also *raḥme* (though not rhyming).—4757. The real explanation of the title *du-l-qarnain* (the two-horned) given to Alexander the Great is his pretension to be the son of Jupiter Ammon (with the ram's horns) as he is depicted on coins struck by Lysimachus. Cf., e.g., J. J. BERNOULLI, *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Großen*, 1905, pl. VIII, 4.—4792. Variant: *JPOS*, V p. 120. No. 285.—4797. With these words we welcome a friend who was absent for a long time.

Foreign influence (if not origin) is traced for the following proverbs:—349. Cf. the French "Dans le royaume des aveugles le borgne est roi".—1297 refers to the sale of the hide of the bear, a well-known proverb in European languages: "Verkaufe nicht das Fell, ehe du den Bären hast".—1299 does not seem of Arabic origin, nor do 1313, 1400 and 1457, the German parallel of the latter being "Mit den Wölfen muß man heulen".—1541 is the Arabic version of Horace's "Parturiunt montes, nascetur ridiculus mus" (*Ars poetica*, 139).—1865 may also be attributed to a German origin (cf. "die Wände haben Ohren").—More certain is this in the case of 2254 ("Wie ein Ochs vor der Apotheke stehen").—2276 has also a German original or parallel (Gill's *Der Hund und die Kuh*).—2584 is Seneca's "Vox populi, vox Dei".—2898 has also a German parallel ("Es ist schon dafür gesorgt, daß die Bäume nicht in den Himmel wachsen"; cf. Part III of Goethe's "Dichtung und Wahrheit").—2938 is a literal translation of the German "Ein räudig Schaf steckt die ganze Herde an" (though mange attacks only the goats in this country).—3003 is the translation of the German "Der Zweck heiligt das Mittel" or the English "The end justifies the means", while the English "A stitch in time, saves nine" is rendered literally (3356).—3458. "Viele Köche verderben den Brei" (where, in a more current variant, *bṭiḥriq* "burn" is used). 4185 is also not Arabic, cf. the German "Krokodilstränen", while 4830

finds its parallel in the German "Keine Rose ohne Dornen".—3431 reminds one vividly of the German "Kelchesrand und Lippen, Zwei Korallenklippen . . ." (Lenau); at any rate it does not seem to be of Arabic origin.—193 and 3599 occur already in Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis*.

The following references to classical proverbs and quotations may be noted: ارسل حكما ولا توصه, while 192 is quoted from the famous قصيدة of الشيخ ناصيف اليازجي. — 240 *fi-l-ḥurūbi* instead of the singular. — 311, 312, 846 and 948 are so-called *ahādīṭ*, as is 2747, where the correct form should be لا يلدغ المؤمن من جحر مرتين, the word being *juḥr* (hole) and not *hujur*, lap.—952. The complete verse runs ارسلته لي خاطبا فتزوج. — 1206. *arsāltuhu*

1548 is the classical rendering of Ahmad Šauqi's lines
 قالت الضفدع قولا فسرته الحكما في في ماء وهل ينطق من في فيه ماء

ودارهم ما دمت في دارهم وارضهم ما دمت في ارضهم — 1996.

2624. — يا ضعيف الجفون اضعفت قلبا كان قبل الهوى قويا سوريا
 لا تحارب بناظريك فؤادي فضعيفان يغلبان قويا

3161. (see also 952) — البعض يقزع بالعصا والبعض تكفيه الاشارة 3595 suggests — عرضنا انفسنا عزت علينا عليكم فاستخف بها الهوان ولو انا منعناها لعزت ولكن كل معروض مهان — 3608. كل يغني على ليله, i.e., every one sings about his Laila (beloved girl). — 3625. والليالي من الزمان حبالى مثقلات بلدن كل عجيب 3848. — كل انا اناضح بما فيه 4049. is the well-known verse of ar-Rā'ī في هذا ولا جمل ar-Rā'ī (lāmiyyatu-l-ʿajam), while 4898 is a much quoted verse from the Šeiḥ ʿUmar b. al-Wardī. — In 5216 is the word *ummuk(a)* to be substituted for *wālida(tun)*.

ST. H. STEPHAN.

JESAIAS PRESS, *Neues Palästina-Handbuch. Führer durch Palästina*, 18 mehrfarbige, 3 schwarze Karten und Planbeilagen, 18 Pläne im Text. Unter Mitarbeit von H. HERRMANN. 552 pp., Fiba-Verlag, Wien, 1934. Price £ 1.20 d.

This is a guide to Palestine, which, though written by a Jewish scholar with an eye to the needs of German-speaking Jewish travellers and settlers, contains also much material of a more general

kind on recent developments in the country. Much of both, his Jewish and general information, is absent in the other standard guide books, (e.g. Cook, Meistermann, or Baedeker — which has not been revised since 1912). It thus satisfies an obvious need.

The first section of the guide deals with matters of Jewish interest, with the regulations governing immigration, with Jewish settlements, with statistical data, with weights and measures, hints to travellers, health conditions, ethnographic and historical sketches, the Palestine Mandate and economic conditions. The tours are so arranged as to include the greatest possible number of places and sites in which a Jewish tourist would be interested.

The maps are reproduced on a good scale (1:500,000), the plans are up to date and conveniently distributed in the letter-press. An outstanding feature is the constant association of ancient and modern as well as Talmudic references and valuable notes on the Jewish community in Palestine during the last two thousand years. The description of sites sometimes becomes rhetorical, but normally the language is clear and the information is up to date and reliable.

There are minor errors and slips. The total absence of accents and diacritical signs on purely Arabic words makes for unnecessary difficulties — as in the case of the minarets of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus, where one may read (p. 456) *medīnet*, town, or *mēdīnet*, minaret, and (p. 109) *al-Muṣṭali*, i.e. he who warms himself at the fire, or *al-Muṣṭali*, the caliph. "*Sunna*" (p. 76) is not "Randglosse", but may be considered as the religious law of the Mohammedans. The Arabic name (p. 225) of the Damascus Gate, *bāb il-āmūd*, 'Gate of the column', may have originated from the colonnade which started there (cf. the map of Jerusalem in the Mosaic of Madeba). — p. 247, there is now an iron bar between the two columns, near the *mihrāb* of the mosque el-Aqsa, the rotunda of which (p. 248) was reconstructed by the Turkish architect Kemāleddīn in 1927. Mr. E.T. Richmond, the present Director of Antiquities, a leading authority on the subject of Moslem architecture, was the consulting architect on the works carried out in the Dome of the Rock after 1919. p. 250, *Bāb ed-dāhiriyye* is the 'Gate of Eternity', an allusion to the legend that the end of the world would be at hand when the gate is re-opened for use. The "Ratisbonne" building is an orphanage conducted by priests (p. 290).

Tanṭūr, now a hospice, served as a hospital sometimes during the War (p. 313). "*Bachr el-majit*" is not "Todesmeer", but "Totes Meer" (p. 334). The Hebrew Univeristy has, in 1934, not 200 students, but approximately twice as many (p. 303).

On p. 260 the author states, "There remains no doubt that the historical Golgotha and the Tomb of Christ are not on the traditional site, but are to be looked for outside the present city wall." In this conclusion he follows not so much the results of the excavations of the Third Wall, as sundry dissenting theories advanced mostly on grounds other than archaeological. JOSEPHUS, *Bell. Jud.*, V, iv, 2 (ed. Havercamp, p. 200) states that "the beginning of the third wall was at the tower Hippicus, whence it reached as far as the north quarter of the city, and the tower Psephinus, and then was so far extended till it came over against the monuments of Helena . . . : it then extended farther to a great length, and passed by the sepulchral caverns of the Kings, and bent again at the tower of the corner, . . . and joined to the old wall at the valley called the Valley of Cedron". Therefore the fact that parts of the Third Wall are at a considerable distance from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is no argument in favour of the theory that the site of the Holy Sepulchre is not authentic. Moreover, traces of the Second Wall are still visible in the old city, and the absence of traces at other points is accounted for by the building activity within the city during the Middle Ages. The solution of complicated questions, historical, archaeological and topographical, is not helped by simply ignoring the results of careful and responsible research.

p. 230, 261. The excavations conducted by Dr. E.L. Sukenik (on behalf of the Jewish Exploration Society) and Dr. L.A. Mayer (on behalf of the Hebrew University) on the site of the Third Wall confirmed the statement of Josephus, that the wall, begun by Agrippa, was hurriedly completed by the population before the siege of Titus, thirty years later.

As Secretary of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, the author might well have dealt more adequately with recent excavations, which are mentioned only when they are on or near the prescribed routes.

ST. H. STEPHAN.

Ras Schamra (*Der Alte Orient*, Vol. 33, fasc. 1-2). By JOHANNES FRIEDRICH. pp. 38 with 8 plates. Leipzig (Hinrichs), 1933.

In this brochure the distinguished author gives us an admirable sketch of the discoveries of SCHAEFFER and CHENET at Râs eš-Šamrah on the coast of northern Syria. The first 16 pages are devoted to the archaeological results of the excavations carried on between 1929 and 1932 (the 1933 campaign was too recent to have been included). The deity with a feather-crown (p. 8) is more likely to be a tree-god (*Bull. Am. Sch. Or. Res.*, No. 50, p. 20) and there is a divergent interpretation of the lance with branched shaft, held by a god on another stele (cf. *loc. cit.*).

Pp. 16-37 are devoted to an account of the decipherment of the alphabetic tablets and a survey of the contents of these and other cuneiform texts discovered on the site. DHORME's early work on the decipherment of the alphabetic tablets was entirely independent of BAUER; see the comments of the reviewer in the *Bulletin*, No. 46, p. 16. To what was there said may be added that the reviewer talked with DHORME in early June, 1930, before the first report by BAUER had been published, and a week or two before it reached Jerusalem, so there can be no doubt whatever that DHORME had already reached results which were in some respects more correct than BAUER's.

The sketch of the grammar of the language of Ugarit given on pp. 2-37 is largely based on FRIEDRICH's own brilliant work (a fact which the latter is too discreet to mention). Thanks to the increase of material, it is now possible to go still farther; see the reviewer's treatment in the *Journal*, Vol. XIV, pp. 104-115.

On pp. 27-8 FRIEDRICH gives a short account of the texts from Ugarit in "Subaracan", i.e., in the language of Mitanni and of the Hurrian texts from Boghazköi. Since this was written additional evidence for the identification of the new tongue with Hurrian has been published; in *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, XXVII, iii, BRANDENSTEIN points out that *awari* means "field" both at Boghazköi and in Ugarit. A text just published by THUREAU-DANGIN shows that Hurrian personal names were as common as Semitic ones at Ugarit.

W. F. ALBRIGHT

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 Dr. R. S. Haupt, Moravian College and Theol. Seminary, 1310, Main Street, Bethlehem, Pa., U.S.A.
 Professor Charles A. Hawley, School of Religion, University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, U.S.A.
 Mr. W. Hecker, P.O.B. 248, Jerusalem.
 Professor George F. Hedley, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif., U.S.A.
 Mr. W. H. Heinrichs, General Secretary, Y.M.C.A., Jerusalem.
 Professor D. Dr. Johannes Hempel, Nikolausbergerweg 53, Göttingen.
 Professor Dr. H. W. Hertzberg, Caldern, Kreis Marburg, Germany.
 W. A. Heurtley, Esq., O.B.E., Librarian, Palestine Archaeological Museum Library, Jerusalem.
 Professor W. J. Hinke, 156 North Street, Auburn, N. Y., U.S.A.
 Mr. C. A. Hornstein, C.M.J. Boys School, P. O. Box 713, Jerusalem.
 Professor Mary I. C. Hussey, Mount Holyoke College, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
 The Reverend Professor Henry Hyvernatt, Lit. D., D.D., 3405, Twelfth Ave., N.E., Brookland, D.C., U.S.A.
 J. H. Iliffe, Esq., Keeper of the Palestine Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.
 Mrs. H. Irwell, 8 f Bickenhall Mansions, Gloucester Place, London, W.
 Reverend J. W. Jack, M.A., J. P., The Manse, Glenfarg, Perthshire, Scotland.
 John Jackman, Esq., c/o American Mission, Beirut, Lebanon.
 The Reverend Pastor G. Jentsch, P.O.B. 33, Bethlehem, Palestine.
 C. N. Johns, Esq., Field Archaeologist, The Castle, Athlit, N.D., Palestine.
 The Right Reverend Dr. G. C. Joyce, Bishopstow, 191 A, Stow Hill, Newport, Mon.
 Dr. Helen Kagan, Prophets Street, Jerusalem.
 Mr. E. Kahanoff, Director, Professional Institute, Alliance Israelite Universelle, P.O.B. 43, Jerusalem.
 *Mr. H. M. Kalvaryski, Rehavia, Jerusalem.
 President James A. Kelso, Western Theological Seminary, Pittsburgh, Pa., U.S.A.
 M. Cecil Kenyon, Survey Department, Jaffa.
 Miss Key, c/o Lloyd's Bank, Ltd., Cambridge, England.
 The Reverend Paschal Dodd Kinsel, O.F.M., D.D., Principal, Terra Santa College, Jerusalem.
 Colonel H. Kisch, C.B.E., D.S.O., Julian Street, Jerusalem.
 Mr. Amoz Kohen, House of Don Josef Nasi, Mikor Baruch, 2, Jerusalem.
 His Beatitude Msgr. Kouchakian, Armenian Patriarch, See of St. James, Jerusalem.

- The Reverend Emil G. H. Kraeling, Ph. D., 531 East 18th St., Brooklyn, N.Y., U.S.A.
- Miss A. E. Landau, O.B.E., Evelina de Rothschild School, Jerusalem.
- Mr. N. Lattot, Y.M.C.A., P.O.B. 295, Jerusalem.
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- Mr. R. Levy, Municipality, Haifa.
- Mr. L. Lind, P.O.B. 350, Jerusalem.
- Professor Dr. Sven Linder, Vaksala, Uppsala, Sweden.
- Dr. Joseph Luria, Jewish Agency, P.O.B. 92, Jerusalem.
- Dr. D. G. Lyon, Harvard University, Semitic Museum, Cambridge, Mass., U.S.A.
- Mrs. MacInnes, Katamon, Jerusalem.
- Professor D. Dr. A. E. Mader, Romanstr. 20, München 19, Germany.
- Dr. J. L. Magnes, P.O.B. 30, Jerusalem.
- Dr. B. Maisler, Strauss Street, Jerusalem.
- Mr. N. Makhoul, Inspector of Antiquities, P.O.B. 18, Acre.
- Professor I. G. Matthews, Crozer Seminary, Chester, Pa., U.S.A.
- Professor Charles D. Mathews, Birmingham-Southern Baptist College, Birmingham, Alabama U.S.A.
- Professor Herbert Gordon May, Oberlin School of Religion, Oberlin, Ohio, U.S.A.
- Professor L. A. Mayer, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
- Mr. Ludwig Mayer, P.O.B. 932, Jerusalem.
- Professor W. H. McClellan, Woodstock College, Woodstock, Maryland, U.S.A.
- Dean C. C. McCown, Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif., U.S.A.
- Professor S. A. B. Mercer, Trinity College, Toronto, Canada.
- Mr. J. Meyuhas, P.O.B. 13, Jerusalem.
- *W. J. Miller, Esq., 20, Gloucester Road, South Ealing, London, W. 5.
- *E. Mills, Esq., Commissioner of Migration, Jerusalem.
- Mrs. E. N. Mohl, 187, Nablus Road, Jerusalem.
- Professor James Alan Montgomery, 6806 Greene Street, Germantown, Philadelphia, Pa., U.S.A.
- President Julian Morgenstern, Hebrew Union College, 8, Burton Woods Lane, Cincinnati, Ohio, U.S.A.
- President Warren J. Moulton, Bangor Theological Seminary, 331 Hammond St., Bangor, Maine, U.S.A.
- Prof. H. H. Nelson, Chicago House, Luxor, Egypt.
- Monsieur René Neuville, Consulat Général de France, Jerusalem.
- *Miss F. E. Newton, P.O.B. 63, Haifa.
- Mr. M. Nijhoff, Lange Voorhout 9, The Hague, Holland.
- Professor D. Dr. Martin Noth, Schönstrasse 17, I, Königsberg, Germany.
- Mr. J. Ory, Inspector of Antiquities, 1, Nahmani Street, Tel Aviv.
- *The Reverend George Frederick Owen, 1415 West Pike's Peak, Colorado Springs, Col., U.S.A.
- The Reverend Gurdon C. Oxtoby, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California, U.S.A.
- Rev. Arthur W. Payne, Mildway Conference Hall, Mildway Park, London.
- Professor Johs. Pederson, Dante Plads, Copenhagen, Denmark.

- S. H. Perowne, Esq., The Governorate, Jaffa.
- *The Reverend Canon W. J. Phythian-Adams, The Abbey, Carlisle, England.
- Dr. Leo Picard, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
- Mr. M. E. Pikovsky, P.O.B. 390, Jerusalem.
- Mr. A. Popper, P.O.B. 663, Jerusalem.
- Professor William Popper, University of California, 529 the Alameda, Berkeley, California, U.S.A.
- The Reverend D. Dr. J. Pohl, P.O.B. 359, Jerusalem.
- Mr. Isaiah Press, P.O.B. 563, Jerusalem.
- Dr. F. Reichert, P.O.B. 1046, Jerusalem.
- Dr. Adolf Reifenberg, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
- The Reverend Propst Ernst Rhein, 248 Street of Prophets, Jerusalem.
- The Reverend Hilary G. Richardson, 147 Broadway, Yonkers, N.Y., U.S.A.
- E. T. Richmond, Esq., Director of Antiquities, Jerusalem.
- Dr. R. Richter, P.O.B. 399, Jerusalem.
- Mr. A. Blair Ridington, 1169 Paul Brown Building, Saint Louis, Missouri, U.S.A.
- Reverend Corwin C. Roach, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn., U.S.A.
- Professor D. A. Rücker, Aegidius-Str. 20 a, Münster i. W., Germany.
- Miss Adelaide Rudolph, Columbia University Library, New York, N.Y., U.S.A.
- Dr. A. Ruppin, Rehavia Quarter, Jerusalem.
- Dr. Aapeli Saarisalo, University, Helsinki, Finland.
- Mr. Harry Sacher, P.O.B. 393, Jerusalem.
- M. C. Sachs, Rehoboth Colony, Palestine.
- Major the Hon. B. G. Sackville-West, River Tillington, Petworth, Sussex.
- Mr. Dimitri Salameh, Cook's Tourist Agency, P.O.B. 593, Jerusalem.
- Dr. M. Salzberger, P.O.B. 354, Jerusalem.
- Edwin H. Samuel, Esq., Deputy Commissioner of Migration, Jerusalem.
- The Reverend George H. Scherer, P.O.B. 582, Beirut, Lebanon.
- Dr. M. Schlössinger, Talbiye, Jerusalem.
- Dr. Aage Schmidt, Olgasvej 39, Copenhagen, Denmark.
- Mr. Nikolaus Schmidt, Bürgermeister, German Colony, Jerusalem.
- Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y., U.S.A.
- Miss J. Schönedke, Propstei, Jerusalem.
- Professor O. R. Sellers, 846 Chalmers Place, Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
- Dr. A. Lincoln Shute, B.B., D.D., K.D., Taylor University, Upland, Indiana, U.S.A.
- Mr. S. Slitzan, Shemen Eastern Oil Industries, Ltd., Haifa.
- Professor Louise Pettibone Smith, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Mass., U.S.A.
- Dr. J. Edward Snyder, 12649 S. Western Avenue, Blue Island, Ill., U.S.A.
- Reverend P. J. Sonnen, P.O.B. 395, Jerusalem.
- Le Révérend Père Charles Souvay, C.M., Maison-Mère des RR. PP. Lazaristes, Rue de Sèvres, 95, Paris VIe.
- Mr. A. Speelman (Jr.), Prof. Lorentzlaan 153, Zeist near Utrecht, Holland.
- Professor W. E. Staples, Victoria University, Toronto, Canada.
- J. L. Starkey, Esq., Director, Wellcome Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East, 183, Euston Street, London, N.W. 1.
- Mr. St. H. Stephan, Palestine Archaeological Museum Library, Jerusalem.

- *Professor W. M. B. Stevenson, The University, Glasgow, Scotland.
 Dr. W. F. Stinespring, American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem.
- *Dr. J. C. Strathearn, St. John (Ophthalmic) Hospital, Jerusalem.
 Professor Dr. H. Stummer, Hindenburgstr. 26 II, Würzburg, Germany.
 Dr. E. L. Sukenik, Hebrew University, Jerusalem.
 Miss Svanenskjöld, Nebk, via Damascus, Syria.
 Reverend G. B. Thompson, c/o Mr. S. W. Thompson, Boyle, Mass., U.S.A.
 Dr. W. E. Thompson, Government Hospital, Jerusalem.
 Professor D. Dr. P. Thomsen, Laubestrasse 11 II, Dresden, A. 19, Germany.
 Mr. S. Tolkowsky, 111, Allenby Road, Tel-Aviv.
 Dr. H. W. Torrance, Scottish Mission Hospital, Tiberias.
 Lt. Com. V. L. Trumper, Maison Mazarakis, Rue el Mokattam, Port Said, Egypt
- *Dr. Th. L. W. van Ravesteyn, Emmalaan 14, Utrecht, Holland.
 Le Réverend P. B. Ubach, P.O.B. 142, Jerusalem.
 Le Réverend Père N. van der Vliet, St. Ann, Jerusalem.
 Mr. S. Van Vriesland, Consul General of Holland, P.O.B. 165, Jerusalem.
 Mrs. Fr. Vester, American Colony, Jerusalem.
- *Mr. Moïse Vilbushevitz, Haifa.
- *The Reverend P. N. Waggett, St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, Oxford, England.
 Dr. M. Wallach, Shaare Zedek Hospital, Jerusalem.
- *Miss M. C. Warburton, Oxford House, 203 A, Bethnal Green Road, Bethnal Green, London, England.
 Mr. Kurt Warncke, Unter den Linden 43, Berlin N. W. 7.
 Professor Leroy Waterman, 1855 Vinewood, Ann Arbor, Mich., U.S.A.
 Mr. J. Whiting, American Colony, Jerusalem.
 Professor E. A. Wicher, San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California. U.S.A.
 Professor Laura H. Wild, 21, Silver Street, South Hadley, Mass., U.S.A.
 Messrs. D. Willie & Son, 247 Union Street, Aberdeen, Scotland.
 Mr. P. H. Winter, Public Works Department, Jerusalem.
 The Reverend L. M. Witherspoon, Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 2330 North Halsted Str., Chicago, Ill., U.S.A.
 Mr. A. Yellin, Education Departement, Jerusalem.
 Mr. S. Yeivin, 116 Allenby Road, Tel Aviv.
 Dr. Felix S. Zamjèn, Mengeš, (Slovenija) Yugoslavia.

